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A

# CITY'S DANGER AND DEFENSE.

OR,

ISSUES AND RESULTS OF THE STRIKES OF 1877,

CONTAINING

THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE SCRANTON CITY GUARD.

BY

SAMUEL C. LOGAN, D. D.

SCRANTON, PA.

1887.

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TO THE  
PATRIOTIC YOUNG MEN,  
WHO HAD  
WISDOM TO DISCERN THE CITY'S DANGER, AND THE PATIENT COURAGE  
TO  
PROVIDE FOR ITS DEFENSE, IS THIS WORK  
Affectionately Inscribed  
BY THE AUTHOR,  
WHO, THROUGH TEN YEARS OF PUBLIC SERVICE,  
HAS TRIED  
TO KEEP STEP WITH THEM.





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All the portraits in this book are placed there out of kindness to the Author, and in no case are to be considered as committing those they represent to an endorsement either of the record of facts or of the sentiments expressed in the work. For these the Author alone is responsible. He takes this opportunity of tendering his grateful thanks to that host of friends who have so generously helped, and patiently waited for, the completion of his work.

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# A CITY'S DANGER AND DEFENSE.

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## PRELIMINARY WORDS.

THE DANGER OF SOCIETY IS THE LAWLESS SPIRIT, AND HE IS THE TRAITOR  
WHO DISHONORS THE LAW.

FOR the past three years the propriety of preserving, in some form, the history of "the Scranton City Guard," and of the crisis in the affairs of the city out of which this military organization grew, has been more or less agitated. The rapid changes, both in the constitution of the Guard, and in the population and business interests of the city, have given emphasis to the suggestion, that if this important chapter in the life of the Lackawanna Valley is to be preserved delay must prove fatal.

At the request of the officers of the 13th Regiment, Col. Boies, for some time meditated the design of undertaking this work, and gathered some valuable material for the purpose. But time passed; the delicacy of the work, in which a chief actor is set to record the history, and the pressure of business, prevented the prosecution of this design.

About eighteen months ago there came to the Chaplain of the Guard, who had been identified with it from the beginning, various and earnest requests, from enlisted members and veterans of the organization, and from citizens interested in it, that he would undertake the work of writing, at least the history of the military organization. The "Board of Officers"

then took the matter up. They elected the chaplain "Historian of the 13th Regiment," and laid upon him the duty of recording the history of the crisis out of which the organization sprung, and with which the City Guard had so much to do. The danger and deliverance of the city and of the immense industries centering in it, were deemed too important to be suffered to pass into oblivion without an effort to secure a record of the facts. With these requests came promises of all reasonable help and support in the undertaking.

In obedience to these requests, and without any intermission of severe professional duties, this history has been written. Whether it was worth the labor, and whether the record is worthy of the subject, are now left to the charitable judgment and taste of those who undertake to read its pages.

Necessarily, both the character and interest of the work must be in a great measure local and temporary. Yet it is believed that the crisis which came to the whole valley and the immediate revelation, of both the weakness and strength of a free government, which was made by the labor strikes in the summer of 1877, and by the riots which followed them in so many cities of our country, ought to secure some interest to this record of facts beyond the limit of both the military organization and the city.

The danger, the defense and deliverance of the city of Scranton, and of the immense business interests of the anthracite coal-fields of Northeastern Pennsylvania, were but the type and illustration of that lawless spirit, which swept over so much of our country in 1877; as well as the revelation of those latent forces which are constantly fostered in our manufacturing districts, and which, in that year of sudden upheaval, placed so much of our precious inheritance, for a time, in the hands of the mob. If this be true, there are patriotic people in other cities who might be interested in this record of that strange manifestation of free citizenship and sovereignty.

Governments and free institutions, like men and forest-trees, usually begin to decay and to die at the top. The baldness of the head, and the withered top branches of the tree, as a rule, will show where the frost first strikes, and weakness begins. Cities are the head and centres, of both life and power to the whole country, whatever may be the character of the civilization. In these are the latent forces, which circumstances, beyond the control of laws and courts, may readily arouse to that fierce energy, which carries disease to society and death to the body politic.

Municipal government, in our country, has been too generally deemed of small importance by the most virtuous and intelligent citizens. Possibly this arises from the persuasion, that whatever irregularities in city rule may become intolerable can be easily righted, by the higher intelligence and stronger arm of the commonwealth. Or, it may arise from the humiliation and irksomeness, of having anything to do with local politics, in which stupidity and shameless dishonesty so peacefully bunk together. But it is a fact generally recognized, that the best people and the citizens who have most at stake, are contented to leave the municipal management to the wisdom of the ignorant, and the patriotism of the vicious. It is only when some great upheaval, like that of 1877 comes, that the real dangers, in which we sleep so soundly reveal themselves, and we learn that the peace and safety of a continent are wrapped up in the cities, where mobs and riots are nurtured, and set free to tread down all law and work ruin.

"There is method in madness," it is said, and now and then that method is clearly traceable. I know not that any scientist has ever attempted to discover or reveal, the law or method of mobs. But they certainly have both a genesis and a generation; an origin and a mode of life and action. Human passion moves in lines and tracks, as certain and as easily traced, as do human thought and reason. The mob of one country or

one generation corresponds with remarkable accuracy with that of all countries and generations. The differences are rather of degree than of kind. The mob anywhere and at all times, is a brainless monster with a cowardly heart, which can only be begotten of a lawless spirit. It is a headless force whose vitality is to be found in its whole body. *Its only remedy is quick and remorseless force, legally organized, and under the command of law.*

Hence our conviction, that the history of the danger and deliverance of the city we love has in it a record of facts, which may be of significant interest and use to other cities whose dangers have not yet become manifest, or whose methods of dealing with the monster have left doubts and questions unsolved. Nothing can be more clearly demonstrated than the fact that the legal organization of a military guard, made up of the best young men of the city, who have ever stood ready to resist unto death every attempt, however made to overpower law and order, has given peace and safety to this city and its vicinage. The history of strikes, which are to mobs what the egg is to the viper which the sun hatches from it; and of lawless violence in the coal-fields, in times past; and the remarkable peace and unbroken business prosperity, which, for ten years have kept step with the march of "The Scranton City Guard," leave no room to question the relations of the one to the other.

In the production of this work, the author desires to say, that he has sought to gather about him the people, who twenty years from now may be disposed to inquire touching the work, the wisdom, and patriotism of their fathers, rather than present readers. Twenty years from now the necessarily sharp personal mention, which characterizes the book, will be softened by the shadows which time casts over the procession of human life. He has tried to do justice to all the actors in the scenes of ten years ago; and certainly to deal charitably with all. With all the patience of which he is capable, and with exhaust-

ing labor, without further expectation of reward than successful work brings with it, he has gathered up the facts, and woven them together with what skill he was master of. While he has omitted much, doubtless, which both the members of the Guard and citizens who were actors of the time would find interesting, he has recorded nothing which he has not clear ground for believing to be true.

With these preliminary words, this work of weary and perplexing hours is committed to the charitable consideration of all who may feel interest enough to worry through its pages, with this comforting reflection, that however wearied the reader may be with the reading, he cannot be more so than is the author with the writing.



## CHAPTER I.

## THE WORKMEN AND THEIR EMPLOYERS.

Business Disturbances of 1877—The Causes which Produced and Conditions which Determined their Character—The Real Issue—Order or Anarchy.

THE summer of 1877 was a season of peculiar prostration, and derangement of industries, of all sorts, in the State of Pennsylvania. Indeed from the collapse and panic of 1873 there had been but a partial recovery. Almost a steady decline of the prosperity which had so rapidly developed the resources, and inaugurated the magnificent schemes of industry in the whole country, could be traced through these years. Long-continued prosperity had educated the population generally to habits of extravagance in their domestic economy, and to a spirit of venturesome speculation. Associated capital had worked wonders, and possibly had grown arrogant. Labor, both skilled and unskilled, had learned to place a value upon itself that past experience had never justified. But during the last four years business had suffered a heavy pressure and gradual decline. The case became more aggravated, and the peace of the country began to be disturbed by the agitation of the subtle questions between capital and labor, which have never been settled to the satisfaction of either the intelligent or the ignorant.

If capital must associate in order to reach the best profits, or secure the highest results in the development of industries, it would seem logically to suggest that labor should also combine and fix its own price in the market: But this particu-

lar issue only gave birth to a multitude of questions, which were pondered under the shadows of adversity, and discussed about the doors of silent work-shops, until a feeling of discouragement and distrust assumed the place of courage and hope, in the life of the working people. The laws of moral right became confused with the demands of prudent wisdom and business economy, in the minds both of employers and workmen; until a latent, but ominous opposition became manifest between the office and the shop. The necessary contraction of business and a healthy competition, compelled the great railway corporations all over the country to reduce both their force and the wages of their operatives, at a time when the want of faith, engendered by controversy, and the long-continued sufferings of workmen, combined to arouse the war spirit. Individual responsibility was too readily shifted to the charge of society leagues, associations and combinations without conscience, for the protection of capital on the one hand, and of labor on the other.

Within the commonwealth of Pennsylvania the suffering and derangement incident to this general depression of business enterprise, seemed to produce greater complications, and more dangerous dissatisfaction; from the fact that the coal and iron interests, upon which almost all business enterprises in the interior of the State in a measure depend, had suffered most.

In consequence of the enforced limited production, both of coal and iron, and the low prices, and narrow market, the condition of the miner and worker in iron, became hard indeed. This condition was doubly hard from the two evils of short time and low wages. With commendable fortitude and patience, for three years, the miners and workers in the iron-mills, throughout the anthracite regions, had continued in the works, hoping for better times as each spring opened, only to find as the season passed their expectations disappointed and their lot growing harder. Each succeeding winter found them more

straitened, and employment more difficult to be obtained. The actual sufferings of many of the honest and worthy workmen were very great, and their manly endurance entitled them to the respect and sympathy of all good men. In the Lackawanna and Wyoming Valleys men were discovered who went to their daily work in the mines without breakfast; and, to avoid the confession of their poverty, they carried their empty dinner cans with them, contented with one meal when their day's work was done, if, thereby, their families could be kept from unendurable sufferings. The majority seemed to grasp the situation, and realize that the remedy was beyond the power of either corporations or capitalists, and they patiently did the best they could with what they had. In many cases they had unwisely run their credit with the smaller merchants and grocers, upon their long deferred hopes, until these traders were compelled to close their doors, and leave their own creditors crippled or ruined under the inexorable laws of trade; thereby demonstrating, that faith and patience are necessary factors in the business affairs of civilized society.

Another unfortunate result of this continued depression and derangement of industries was the wandering and migration of laborers and operatives. Either driven by necessity from their homes, or enticed by the imagined better prospects in other fields of enterprise, these workmen were found wandering all over the country. These migrations were joined too by that vagabond population, the worthless and dishonest, which under such a stress find it comparatively easy to insinuate themselves into an association with the decent, and unfortunate. Every community became more or less afflicted with worthless tramps, ready to lead in any movement for plunder, upon the plea of honest necessity, or that of righting the wrongs of "the working men." There are found in almost every community some evil disposed persons, who think of no remedy for trouble or disaster, except to exaggerate or magnify it, and

who appear to gather strength to bear affliction by seeking to make it a common inheritance. Such people grow reckless under trials, and dangerous under temptations, even though intending to walk in paths of virtue.

These classes were all thrown together in the early summer of 1877, by the affinities of a common affliction ; and, as a consequence, the foolish and evil disposed early came to the front. These evilly disposed men took every occasion to denounce "the corporations," and employers, as the cause of hard times; and their grasping tyranny, as the source of all the misery of the poor man. It was claimed, openly and constantly, that the employer, or superintendent, expended his efforts for the oppression of the workmen in order to enrich himself, or his friends, out of the profits of labor. So the doctrines of communism began to be discussed and announced, in the associations of the men who were seeking to better their condition.

The comfort and prosperity which industry and wise economy had brought to the more careful, became in the eyes of the unfortunate and vicious only visible signs of the sin of oppressing the poor. The infamous tenets of communism began to be discussed in the shops, as well as in the sloughs, and their announcements were now and then heard as an ominous rumble along the public streets, portending the social earthquake, by which the foundations should be removed, leaving no standing place for the righteous.

This whole condition of danger and distress, was further aggravated by the existence, in almost every community, of a class of small, pot-house politicians, who perpetually seek to identify themselves with the working-men. "Workers in brass," they might be styled, if a wide distinction is kept in mind, between the kind of brass with which they fill the market, and the beautiful metal with which honest, and real workers adorn society. These parasites of the laborers, in a country, in the highest sense free to all workers, seem to find a precari-

ous existence in all communities outside of the rural districts, and appear to be infested with the notion that they are needed for the wise conduct of public affairs. They are, they conclude, fitted by nature for the filling of any office that may happen to be vacant ; but are impressed with a special call for the making and administration of laws. They are able to trace all depressions in business, and all sufferings of both the unfortunate and the vicious, simply to the defects of the government, or to the dishonesty of officials.

These seekers after office, and incidentally, a generous support from the public treasury, ever awake to the possibilities of personal advantage, early saw, in the general discontent and real suffering of the laboring classes, their opportunity. They at once sought the place of leaders and counsellors. This dangerous class of public aspirants added fuel to the smouldering fires, which, through the dreary winter and early spring of 1877 were filling the air and blurring the vision of honest men throughout the coal region.

Labor associations and brotherhoods of skilled workmen were sought for, by these restless patriots, that they might be converted into political machines, or forces for the securing of personal positions. Labor organizations and "trades unions," with legitimate aims, existed all over the land, and under ordinary circumstances were doubtless of great benefit to their members in various ways. But their power was perverted and used by a great body of the ignorant and vicious to eliminate personal responsibility, and limit individual liberty. So these societies and brotherhoods easily passed out of the control of their best men.

The next step, toward which the apprehended wrongs and real sufferings, of the workmen hastened these associations, made them mighty forces of oppression ; and hence of real apprehension of danger on the part of all good men. They assumed to control all workmen in their particular line of work ;



not simply by fixing the price of their wages, but by deciding when, and for whom, they should be permitted to work. With the promise to take care of faithful members, and support their dependent charges, from the common purse, these societies multiplied adherents until they were able to control the majority of the working-men of the community. Then by force of public opinion, or by the menace of violence, they placed the minority in the position in which compliance with their orders would seem to be a necessity. When the association ordered a strike in any particular department of labor, it required more than ordinary courage for any workman of that department to continue his work, whether he belonged to the association or not. He was compelled to live among the members of these leagues, and the power of public opinion is a force which few men are able successfully to defy.

It was a humiliating fact demonstrated in the history of strikes in the Anthracite coal-fields, that through the influence and unlawful methods of these organizations, the great majority of workmen, who had no sympathy with the postulates of communism and whose judgment decided that it was wiser to work for reduced wages than to cease work, were, nevertheless, controlled by a miserable minority.

Perhaps the most extensive, and at the same time the most intelligent, of these societies, at that time existing in the country, was that of the railway operatives, which was styled "the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers;" intimately associated with which was the Brotherhood of Firemen and Brakemen.

Little can be said with regard to the real character and designs of these organizations. They were all secret organizations which gave every sign of wise and fair administration. They were understood to have for their specific object the protection of the interests of locomotive engineers, and other train operators, under the law; rather than the control of railways, and railway corporations. Up to the general movement of 1877,

these associations not only held the confidence, but, in a marked degree, the very warm sympathy of citizens generally. They were considered, rather, as healthy and necessary institutions, under a system of railway competition and administration, in which the labor, the danger and real worth of train operators were liable to be forgotten, or hidden by the shadows of the great schemes of transportation. The public generally, openly sympathized with what was understood to be the spirit and intention of these brotherhoods so closely allied. Their moral force was felt in all the principal towns along railway lines. These brotherhoods, it was supposed, proposed and even attempted to include in their membership, or under their efficient influence, every man who could be trusted to run a locomotive, or conduct a train. Hence, the Locomotive Brotherhood held in some sort of relationship to itself, the Firemen's and Brakemen's organization; and all such other railway operatives as were deemed necessary to the safe running of trains. The grasp of its power, in 1877, reached, with more or less distinctness, from ocean to ocean, and from the lakes to the gulf.

The competition in the great trunk lines, since the hard times had begun, had doubtless pressed the corporations beyond the possibilities of a healthy business; and in many cases drove them into measures of retrenchment and economy, more effective than just; and the general tendency very naturally was understood to be towards the oppression of the operatives. In some cases the force was diminished, while the same amount of work was demanded; in others the wages were reduced so low that professional engineers were humiliated and crowded out by half educated men, who could afford to work cheaper. The aim seemed almost universal, to require more work, fewer hands, and cheaper service. This systematic and general reduction of expenses, both wise and necessary, under the circumstances; when continued through a series of years, revealed to the operatives, as they supposed, the determination to make

the railways successful at the expense of the engineers and trainmen. It was doubtless this persuasion, whether groundless or just, which produced such activity and gave such efficiency to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers from the beginning of the year 1877. In the opening of the summer there were ominous signs of energy in this association ; whose counsels were kept with wise secrecy, and whose interests seemed to have been placed in the hands of men who would appear to be well fitted to command whole armies.

The railway corporations found signs multiplying through the months of May and June of dissatisfaction, and of the existence of a widely organized force, with which they might at any time be brought into collision. Here and there were frequent small skirmishes, or acts of individual resistance, which gave prophecy of a coming battle. The general uneasiness along all the lines of travel became manifest, then grew painful, as it generally exaggerated the moving forces, as well as the ultimate intentions, of the employees. Signs of agreement and combination of the great trunk lines, for the control of competition and the reduction of expenses, multiplied ; as the representatives of these trunk lines gathered, from time to time, in conferences ; and the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers grew silent and mysterious.

On the 29th of May, 1877, the Pennsylvania Railroad in answer, it was said, to the demands of other great trunk lines, took off its fast line from New York to Chicago, and at the same time published an order reducing the wages of all employees of that road ten per cent. This reduction was required to take effect upon the first day of the following June, with only three days notice. Thus there would be saved a million and a half dollars to the railroad out of the wages of the men employed to run it. This action of the great corporation shocked the moral sense of the people, and was denounced as little removed from simple robbery. It awoke a deep, out-

spoken sympathy with the Brotherhood of Trainmen in all the cities along the lines, and especially among the justice-loving people of Pittsburgh.

On the same day the managers of the great lines met by their representatives in Chicago. They "pooled their freights" at this meeting, and fixed the price of transportation on all the main lines, east and west.

On the 30th of May, the day succeeding the announcement of the ten per cent. reduction of the Pennsylvania Railroad, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers met in Jersey City, New Jersey. Their proceedings were not open to the public; but it was evident that they were attempting to organize an opposition to this action of the roads, by which their interests were so vitally touched. The railway combination had consolidated these interests, and removed the possibility of divided counsels. The grievance was made almost universal by the simultaneous reduction on so many railways, and it required no apparent efforts on the part of the Brotherhoods to extend their organizations, increase their membership, or consolidate their forces. Their delegated assemblies and executive committees met without public notice, with closed doors, and went forward in their daily duties without report, or statements of grievance. They made no reply to the notice of the reductions ordered to take place so suddenly, but their activity and success in extending their union, and the preparation for some kind of action became manifest.

From this 30th day of May rumors and reports of the secret meetings of the association of Railroad Directors and Operators on one hand and of the Brotherhoods of the Railroad Operators on the other, spread over the whole country, aggravating the feelings of apprehension among all classes of people, without affording the means of a correct knowledge, of either their unity of action, or of their demands and intentions.

Superintendents and boards of management seemed to set

their faces against these organizations, and put forth efforts to feel their strength; while from the very silence and order of their employees they augured submission, and persuaded themselves there would be no strike, certainly after all the main roads had ordered the ten per cent. reduction of June 1st. For forty-eight days the sweep of business and commerce was uninterrupted. The heavy trains thundered across the continent, north and south, east and west. The locomotive whistled with as much sonorous joy as though no heavy hearts were borne along the highways of business and pleasure. As in the days of Noah, the people, in the face of all portents and prophecies, pushed the pursuits of life, "married and were given in marriage," "bought and sold," billed their goods, and demanded fulfillment of contracts, until the very day that the heavens were opened, and the fountains of the deep were broken up; so the corporations, and the people, augured peace. They all went their ways with apprehension quieted by the lull that precedes the storm, reassured by the patient fidelity of the trainmen, at so much of whose sacrifice the wheels of a mighty commerce were moving through the land. Preparations were made for moving the bountiful harvest with which the land had been blessed, with confidence, on the part of the great railway corporations. The price of freights had been fixed and covenants sealed. The vast wheat fields were being gladdened with the song of the reapers throughout the whole country; and stockholders smiled at the prospect of realizing long delayed dividends.

The vast trains moved on without interruption as a life pulse of civilization, freighted with providential blessing for a whole land. The Brotherhoods of trainmen, burdened with the wrongs of honest and industrious men, continued to meet without publicity, and depart on their way of duty, with neither apparent excitement nor complaint, up to the 16th day of July, just forty-eight days after the great reduction had



overtaken them. Generally, throughout this period the prospect for peace and business prosperity, was reassuring and even exhilarating.

The special exception to this hopeful outlook, and prospective prosperity of business, existed throughout the anthracite coal-fields. Here the dissatisfaction rather increased than diminished throughout the month of June. Many causes for the increasing depression existed throughout this region. Most of the business interests of the northeastern portion of Pennsylvania were involved in the mining of coal, and the manufacturing of iron and steel. No great trunk lines passed through the region to enrich the roads, or quicken the towns in the coal-fields. The abundant harvests of the West could give little hope of special blessing to either miners or makers of steel. The monthly sales of coal, in New York and Philadelphia, constantly declined, both as to amount and price, until the 27th day of June—only two days before the Pennsylvania Railroad ordered its great reduction—when these sales fell below \$2.50 a ton, thereby giving assurance to laborers, miners and operators alike, that profit in the business was impossible. It could only be a question with the coal companies as to how, and how few of their breakers could be run, so as to keep the laborers and miners from actual want. The mills piled up their steel rails in their yards, in order to keep the mills going, and prevent their skilled labor from being compelled to migrate; or else measured their industry by the orders they received from roads which were practicing the most rigid economy.

A settled gloom seemed to have fallen on the whole community. Men who were in the habit of thinking ceased to talk; workmen lost their cheerfulness, and wandered about, the greater part of the time, idle or worn-out in the vain search for openings of greater promise. Everything seemed ominous and uncertain. Yet adjustments were made with kindness, and

apparent cordiality, by superintendents and workmen. The workmen suffered grievously, but patiently in general, because they saw no remedy.

In addition to this darkness of the business outlook, the great body of working people had been much affected by the experiences of the last seven years. The long strike of 1870 and 1871 had left its scars and wounds, which had been bound up with respectable skill, but had never been entirely healed. There had been social disorders in different portions of the coal-fields and disturbances, which were used by designing men to weaken the social compact, and destroy faith between classes and races of the people.

The league of communists and assassins known as the Molly Maguires, had struck down many a good man in the dark; and by mysterious, and most wicked murders, in widely separated districts, had impressed the people with exaggerated convictions of the numbers and extent of this association, whose symbols were the coffin and the cross-bones. Since the days of the assassins of Mount Ephraim, who desolated the land of Israel, before the fall of Jerusalem, such a wicked, remorseless, and bloody league of murderers had hardly been known to exist in civilized society. By its peculiar wantonness and the cruelty of its modes of vengeance, it exposed offenders and innocent citizens alike. Victims, singled out and condemned to death in any community, were required to be slain by assassins who were entire strangers to them. The members appointed to the bloody work traveled thirty, forty, and fifty miles, and came by night, into the towns and neighborhoods they had never visited before, and with such descriptions and way-marks as could be furnished them, they waylaid their doomed victims, and left them in their blood. Without notice, or knowledge of the offense; without either accuser or known accusation, faithful men, who had become obnoxious to these pretended laborers, were stricken down by the assassins

who had never seen them except through the sights of their guns. Thus it happened that men wholly innocent, and who were not known to have any enemies on earth, were sometimes shot or stabbed by mistake. So whole communities were smitten with that fear and want of faith in their neighbors, which murders society itself, and makes a hell upon earth. Doubtless the congress of thieves, which the great Centennial Exhibition of 1876 had gathered in the country, had left sufficient material for the organization of a Molly Maguire Society in almost any community of Pennsylvania. For it was simply an association of thieves and murderers. No man could guess out the extent of the organization whose tracks of blood were visible, with more or less distinctness, all over the coal-fields and through these peaceful valleys

A heroic detective (James McParlan by name), under direction of President Gowen, of the Reading Railroad, in 1876, devoted himself to the work of ferreting out, and bringing to justice, this league of assassins. He joined their society; went into their haunts, and gained their confidence. He was made secretary of one of their lodges. For a whole year he pretended to do their bidding, and pushed his work of inquiry with sleepless vigilance and sublime courage. By his energy about twenty of these assassins were tracked and brought to be weighed in the scales of justice. On the 21st day of June, 1877, eleven of these convicted murderers were hung. Six of them at Pottsville four at Mauch Chunk, and one at Wilkesbarre. Others were still held in jail at Bloomsburg, with good prospect of conviction.

Fifteen years had passed since the coal-fields had begun to be afflicted with the outrages of this secret organization, which had grown bold by its impunity. Outrages which swept the whole scale of crime, from robbery and arson to murder in daylight, became in some places of frequent occurrence.

Some of these murders were committed in the presence of



orderly citizens, on the streets and highways in the light of day. But if a man were arrested for such crimes, the devices of the order could always find evidence to prove an alibi ; or means to pack, or terrorize a jury, or to cut the sinews of the courts of justice. No man cared to risk the results of opposition to such wickedness, for no man's life was thought to be worth insuring after he had once really offended the order or one of its members. Within fourteen years, twelve prominent citizens in their own communities, were assassinated while attempted murders, robberies, riots and the burning of property, which no attempt has been made to number, followed in their secret paths. Such were the acts which defined the spirit and revealed the power of this secret league. Yet in all that time the law was powerless ; by the prostitution of courts, or the dismay and want of faith, which prevailed among the people.

Until the detective had ferreted out the diabolical league, not a single conviction of one of its members for murder had been obtained. When the first conviction was made it was mainly upon the testimony of witnesses who fourteen years before possessed the knowledge, and yet had given testimony which suffered the murderers to escape. They now gave as the reason for the suppression of their knowledge, the fact that they were afraid for their lives.

Throughout these years of secret outrage, and open violence, consternation, more or less, prevailed throughout the coal-fields, among miners and employers alike. Laborers became frightened and refused to work ; or were swept along by the demands of the strikers, and secret-order men they had neither the power, nor courage, to resist. Company officials and mine bosses were, in many places, afraid to leave their homes alone either by night or day. Many of them received notices either to leave the field or expect to be killed. Thus a reign of terror was inaugurated through some portions of the coal-fields where faithful men were exposed, and might expect to be murdered,

for no reason, except their fidelity to their trusts. Superintendents found it dangerous to dismiss a worthless laborer, lest, perchance, he belonged to the secret order; and industrious miners and laborers, whose families were suffering, dared not work, unless a sufficient guard was provided.

This truth was demonstrated, as well as that of the healthfulness of pluck, and manly courage, in the City of Scranton in 1871 at the close of the long strike. Here a number of miners and laborers came to Mr. W. W. Scranton, a young man then in the employ of the Lackawanna Iron & Coal Company (the son of Joseph H. Scranton, the worthy president of the company), and proposed to work the mine at Briggs shaft, if he would furnish them a guard in passing to and from their work, *and lead it himself*. These miners had a profound confidence in the courage of the young man. This proposition he accepted, and with a squad of soldiers, he led the workers to their task in the morning and returned them to their homes safely in the evening. On the second day, as they returned, a crowd of idle and vicious people had gathered, and with hootings and eager demonstrations, sought to excite a mob and bring their labor to an end. Whether an actual attack was made by the leaders of this crowd upon the guard, or whether they only gave such demonstrations as to disturb the poise of the guard, has never been settled. But one of the miners who had been struck, fired a shot without orders, by which two leaders of the mob were instantly killed, and thus the great strike of 1871 ended.

It is easy to see that the mutual distrust created and fostered by such a deluge of crime, through a period of years, between workmen and employers, could not be removed by the apparent peaceful adjustments of great railway corporations, or new promises of a revival of business. This reign of terror so long continued left its impressions of the insecurity, both of property and life, only to deepen the fissure between capital and labor.

It tended perpetually to interrupt and weaken that faith between employers and workmen, without which charity and equitable dealing are impossible. The hanging of eleven assassins, on one day, did indeed cheer the people with the hope that the backbone of this mystery of wickedness had been broken; but there were multitudes of people who were fully persuaded that the monster still had life.

The punishment of these men did much towards the restoration of confidence in the courts and the power of law, but these courts were still at the mercy of the politicians, and of cowardly witnesses. The people knew, or thought they knew, of a hundred more who were yet at large, and only waiting the opportunity for vengeance and rapine. The confidence, so long interrupted, could only be restored by years of honest and open dealings in the business affairs of the community. The spirit of distrust had smitten all walks of life, but its tendency was to segregate the people into two great classes. The men of business and property, on the one hand; and those who worked for wages, or hire, upon the other. Injustice was constantly to be apprehended on both sides, and wrong, doubtless, was suffered by both employers and workmen, which could only have been prevented by the restoration of confidence, which, under the circumstances and passions of the times, was impossible.

Superintendents and company officials, with large interests and responsibilities, "spotted" now and then honest and true men, possibly because of their own exaggerated fears, and quietly dismissed them without sufficient or apparent reason, thinking them to be connected with this league of death. The workers in the shops looked with jealousy and unjust apprehension upon every new or strange worker placed beside them, and made demands upon employers for their dismissal, which were preposterous and which were founded, probably, upon the same fears.

Committees of complainers, burdened with grievances of workmen, wore smooth paths between the shop and the office; and representative miners waited at the doors of superiors and headmen. Very naturally the office grew too busy to hear complaints, and doubtless kept many waiting with *burdens* that grew into *wrongs* by the delay, and so hastened a dreadful harvest.

Employers and middle men, filled with the tenderest sympathy towards their workmen, became hardened by the burdens of their position, and lost both confidence and patient consideration. Workmen fused their misfortunes, their sorrows and wrongs, into a white heat of passion and hatred. There was good and evil, right and wrong, on both sides, all traceable to the fact that the times were out of joint. Society was so lame that it could not travel peacefully, even if the road had been smooth.

If we consider carefully these forces so long at work among the people, and the conditions of business, the effects of speculation and the habits of life among all classes; it is difficult to conclude that the restoration of peace and prosperous industry, was possible, without the collision and trial of strength between anarchy and law, which was so soon to startle the nation.

The echoes of the wakes over the dead assassins taken off by legal execution, swept around the shops and mines in Pennsylvania only to deepen the distrust, and to increase the fear of the people, while the workmen struggled on in dogged silence. The superintendents and capitalists began to augur peace, and gather strength to push their heavy tasks, from the quiet indifference gendered by despair in the souls of the laborers, and the people, beginning to breathe more freely, were gathering together in social confidence, and selecting places of their sojourn for a summer vacation, while yet the air was full of heaviness. The calm that precedes the storm fell

on the coal regions, only to multiply suspicion, and deepen apprehension.

On the 30th of June 1877, rumors of suspensions and strikes increasing and flowing into one huge suspicion of a "*great strike*," which should compass the continent, again reach the coal-fields. "The Brotherhood" had yet given no palpable sign; but the movement of a hundred thousand men in unison, could not be inaugurated without some disturbance of either air or earth. So the rumor arose and fell; it gathered consistency as a cloud, then fell into fragments and disappeared as a mist, leaving thoughtful watchers in doubt whether it came from the great field of railway enterprise, or was gendered from their own fears or apprehensions.

These rumors were discussed without a settled conviction until the 16th day of July 1877; when without a single warning, the trains on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad at Martinsburgh, W. Va., were stopped with a shock which was felt from ocean to ocean, and the great battle between order and anarchy was opened, which swept like a tornado over the whole continent.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE GREAT RAILWAY STRIKE OF JULY 16, 1877.

Development, Culmination and Legitimate Fruits of the Railway Obstruction.

IT is not the intention, in the work which is here proposed, to record in any adequate sense the history of the great railway strike of 1877. Its vast proportions—its secret and wonderfully complete organization—its almost instantaneous and general action, and its manifest influence upon the vital interests of the whole country, present this strike as a subject entirely unique in the conduct of affairs. It could not be properly styled a rebellion against government; nor did it propose a revolution in the conduct and control of public affairs. Yet in its presence Government was not visible, and before its scathing breath society fell into a temporary chaos. The salient facts which this strange power has left on record, present it as a subject worthy of the deepest consideration, not only by the historian and the chronicler of events, but by the statesman and patriot as well. The causes which produced it, and the condition of business and of civil society which rendered it possible, involve both the character and forces of our free government, and of our modern civilization. It would require a patient investigation and study of years, such as few men are able to give, in order to present, in any adequate sense, an intelligent history of this attempt which was made, almost without premonition, to control a whole continent by unlawful forces; and redress the supposed or real wrongs of a class of workmen by the obstruction of universal business.



The results produced, of course, were far beyond the possible intentions of those who inaugurated the strike; or the wildest expectations of those who accepted its responsibilities. It would be difficult to find a community or even a family in the nation, whose interests and pursuits and even character, remained untouched. when a whole people were required to stand still as spectators, and adjust themselves to new conditions, while great corporations and their employees should adjust their differences. It would hardly be possible, after ten years have passed, to write a satisfactory detail of the proceedings of such an attempted revolution of affairs, which was founded upon false principles and, consequently, doomed to failure by the eternal fitness of things.

Yet the influence of this railway strike upon the whole country, and especially upon the centres of population and industry, makes some intelligent statement of its progress necessary in order to a proper understanding of the city's danger, and of the exigencies out of which sprang the organization and efficiency of the city's defense.

The peril which was so suddenly manifested in the young city of Scranton, in the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in the summer of 1877, and which seriously threatened its vital interests as a community, was but the local manifestation of a general force generated over the whole country by a lawless spirit; which intelligent, and not ordinarily vicious men had supposed could be harnessed like a beast of burden, and driven for beneficent ends. The history of this city's exposure and of its organized defense; when its best young men rushed bravely and unflinchingly to the rescue, has its lessons, which lose none of their force from the fact that it was only one city out of many which passed through the terrible crisis. Nor is there any pretence that virtue and patriotism or efficient wisdom, were to be found here alone, in the day of terror and trial. While it is the intention to record the facts of this cri-

sis as they existed in the anthracite coal fields, in the Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys especially, and preserve the history of the military organization known as the "Scranton City Guard," which for ten years has been the city's defense, the fact must be kept in view, that while "a part may be taken for the whole," it is not separated from the whole. One city's danger differs from that of another, chiefly, in this great free commonwealth, only in the accidents which mark individual existence, or municipal organization. The efficiency and wisdom of the city's defense, in general, must be determined by the courage and patriotism of its citizens, and the honest virtue of its municipal authorities. To a fair understanding and appreciation of the record which is here proposed, it is necessary, therefore, to present a general view of the development and progress of the great strike,—which within three days, sought to gather the nation in its frantic grasp, and had the interests of the whole people at its mercy.

While then it is not the intention to record the history of the great strike of 1877, yet its proportions, its wonderful and complete organization, and its manifest influence upon the whole country, make some intelligent statement of its progress necessary, in order to a proper understanding of the exigencies out of which sprang "The Scranton City Guard," the history of which it is here intended to give.

History presents few, if any, parallels to the rapidity, efficiency or great proportions with which a lawless force was organized in the midst of peaceful society, throughout the United States in June and July of 1877. Within less than a week from the first act of violence, the business of fifty millions of people was interrupted, their interests placed in jeopardy, and society itself was threatened with disorganization. In all the recorded convulsions of the body politic or of civil society, we find none in which both the weakness and strength of a free government were so suddenly, and distinctly, revealed.



One week's experience awoke the whole intelligent people of the United States to new channels of thought touching the hidden elements of force lying dormant in a population that is made up of all races of men, affected by the traditions of all the lands from which they have come; especially when endowed with the fullest liberty consistent with the existence of government.

The gulf of anarchy, which was revealed through the fissures of society by the sudden glow of the fires of human passion, on the 17th of July, 1877, seemed to place the seal of truth upon the conclusions of the statesmen of the ancient school. "A government of the people, for the people, and by the people," seemed to be a "Ship of State," with abundant sail, but with neither ballast nor anchor. But the potency with which the driving tempest was met, and the rapidity with which the frightful chaos was reduced again to order by the moral and military forces of an intelligent and patriotic people, have given to the world a new confidence in the real power of a government which rests, under God, upon the virtue and free action of its own citizens.

Now, after ten years of peace and commercial prosperity, the appalling storm which passed over, seems but "as a dream when one awaketh;" but its lessons were far too vital to be neglected or forgotten, by a wise people. The general facts were these:—

Late at night on the 17th of July one of the vice-presidents of the Baltimore & Ohio Railway aroused the Governor of West Virginia with the telegraphic announcement, from the City of Baltimore, that the freight trains of his road had been stopped at Martinsburgh, by the firemen on duty, who had struck for higher wages. That those willing to take their places had been dragged from the engines, and that all trains, both east and west, were held by a mob, while the authorities of the city and the law abiding citizens, were

powerless to suppress the riot. At midnight the Governor responded with an order to the two military companies under command of Colonel Falkner of his staff, to proceed at once to the aid of the civil authorities at Martinsburgh.

About six o'clock on the morning of the same day Colonel Falkner appeared with a military company of seventy-five men ; and ordering the mob to disperse, he took possession of a train and began to move it towards its destination. This led to an immediate and furious attack by the mob, which was armed with all sorts of weapons, from a paving-stone to a musket. One of the soldiers was wounded, when the colonel ordered the guard to fire upon the mob. One man fell and the result was the arousing of an ungoverned fury, which quickly led to repeated and desperate charges upon the small body of soldiers, and the disabling of the cars ; and which resulted in giving the whole city over into the power of the mob. In the hands of these strikers were seventy trains, having in them twelve hundred freight-cars. Two-thirds of these cars were bound east, and one-third west, loaded with all kinds of merchandise. There were over five hundred head of cattle on one of these trains. Indeed, all the property of the road found at that point, was in the hands of the firemen and their friends, when the morning dawned. Early in the morning, Governor Matthews, with a guard of sixty young men, hastened to the scene of conflict. He arrived at eight o'clock on the morning of the 18th, to find Colonel Falkner's company disbanded, and the rioters in full and apparently permanent possession, of both the town and the road, having thrown up entrenchments on both sides of the station. Here the Governor learned that the road had been closed up behind him also ; and that rioters at Wheeling, West Virginia, had taken forty stands of arms from the militia in that city ; also that at Cumberland three hundred boatmen, employed on the Baltimore and Ohio Canal, had left their vessels and run to join the strikers on the railway.

Thus, in less than twelve hours from the stopping of the first train at Martinsburgh, the State of West Virginia, with its Governor, having a guard of sixty men housed in his headquarters in a train that could not move, found itself helpless, with nothing more than the semblance of its authority. Its laws were trodden down by an army of railway operatives from the Potomac to the Ohio. These strikers destroyed the property of the Company, broke car couplings, and disabled engines, enough to prevent any running of trains, and then fortified themselves at many points. They then sent out their scouts and prepared for a siege. This was all accomplished in one day.

The Governor, from his military headquarters, with strikers before and behind him, on the forenoon of the 18th, appealed to President Hayes for United States troops to suppress a "domestic insurrection," which the State was in no condition promptly to control. The President responded with a proclamation ordering the Martinsburgh rioters to disband within twenty-four hours, or before noon of the 19th, and with an order to General French, who had three hundred United States troops at his command at Fort McHenry, to proceed at once to Martinsburgh and all other points on the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad where his command might be necessary, to suppress lawlessness and disorder. The close of the day found these troops in the cars, with their supplies and ammunition, ready to move in the early morning. Meanwhile all the State militia that could be trusted, were ordered under arms and moved towards the line of this great artery of commercial life. The strikers increased their numbers hourly, all along the road from Wheeling and Parkersburg on the Ohio, to the Potomac, until their forces were estimated by the thousand.

During the night of the 18th a condition of ominous apprehension was felt all along the railway system of the coun-

try. Bloody work was apprehended in the State of West Virginia on the morrow. Yet so utterly unprepared was the State Government for such an exigency, that the Governor gave, as a reason for calling at once upon the President of the United States for help, the facts that the Legislature of West Virginia, in the year 1875, had passed a law forbidding the organization of the militia; and that there was but a single volunteer company of soldiers at his service that could be trusted. Up to the time when bloodshed began, the mass of citizens seemed to sympathize with the strikers, and multitudes from all the business walks hastened to join them. On the 19th of July the strike swept over the whole road, and completed its stoppage of all transportation from Baltimore to Chicago. At Newark and Columbus, Ohio, the trains were stopped, as in West Virginia; and, before noon, the officials of the road called upon the Governor of Ohio for troops to protect their property and repress lawlessness.

On the same day the freight trainmen of the Pennsylvania Railroad stopped their trains at Pittsburgh, and at the "Cattle Yards" at East Liberty; and refused to allow them to be taken farther East or West. They were joined by the other trainmen as fast as their trains arrived at these points, until hundreds of cars filled the side-tracks; and crowds of discharged workmen gathered about the station. The "Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers" met in the evening of that day in Pittsburgh, and demanded the restoration of the ten per cent. reduction of June first; the retention of all strikers in service, and the abolition of all double trains; and they refused to allow any trains to be moved until these demands were met.

At the stock yards there were one hundred and thirty carloads of cattle ready for shipment, and before the day was over one hundred carloads more were to arrive from the west. So sudden had been this strike, and so little apprehension

had been excited, that the State of Pennsylvania, like that of West Virginia, seemed to be entirely at the mercy of the strikers.

The Governor of Pennsylvania, John F. Hartranft, whose military record is a part of the glory of the Commonwealth, had gone with a company of friends upon an excursion by special train, to the Pacific Coast. He was far out on the plains, when, on the afternoon of the 19th of July, the telegram calling for military aid, to suppress the mob at Pittsburgh, arrested his excursion. At 12 o'clock the same night, in answer to the call of the sheriff of Allegheny County, the 18th Regiment N. G. P. was ordered out at Pittsburgh by the Adjutant General Latta, in accordance with the instructions of the Governor, who had reversed his train at Salt Lake City, and was hastening home under great difficulties.

By midnight of the 19th, the Pennsylvania Railway from Philadelphia to Chicago and St. Louis, was blockaded with dead engines, which were in the possession of determined men. Thousands of cars loaded with all manner of merchandise, perishable and imperishable, were stopped where the hour fixed for the strike overtook them. Throughout the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois the local civil authorities, finding themselves powerless to secure order, or maintain the majesty of the law, were busy gathering the undrilled militia to face this organized force of lawless endeavor and demand.

Before noon, on the 20th of July, the strikers of the Pennsylvania Railway were joined by the trainmen of both the Pan Handle and the Pittsburgh and Fort Wayne Railways; thus blockading the whole outlet from Pittsburgh to the west. By one o'clock, on the morning of the 20th, the immense traffic and travel of this highway of the nation, whose highways are its defense, came suddenly to an end. For a time the highest interests of society seemed to be at the mercy of self-ap-

pointed workmen, who proposed, not to destroy government, but to administer its functions and to subordinate law to their personal demands. At Pittsburgh, Altoona, Harrisburg and Philadelphia, the thousands of trainmen were joined by thousands more of that nondescript crowd of the lawless and worthless, who always seem ready to add their force to the resistance to law, without thought or care, either as to cause or consequences.

Having nothing to lose, the scent of plunder and their communistic instincts, led them to hurry to the localities where property had been wrested from the hands of its owners. Vast multitudes gathered at the stations and filled the streets on all the highways, bidding defiance to all authority.

At the same hour, one o'clock on the morning of the 20th, the trains of the Erie Railway were stopped, and the strike extended over the Atlantic and Great Western and the Ohio and Mississippi, thus closing the middle artery of life in the travel and traffic of the country. At four o'clock P.M. on the 19th, the superintendent of the Erie received notice of the exigency, and of demands from the Brotherhood at Hornellsville, N. Y.; and immediately set forward by special car to prevent the execution of the determination of the strikers. He was suffered to pass as far as Salamanca, where his locomotive was quietly detached from his car and placed in the engine house to cool. The trains were stopped at Hornellsville and Salamanca as fast as they arrived, and these places were filled with travelers who found no conveyance.

On the same night attempts were made at Buffalo and other places, east and west of that point, to involve the New York Central and Lake Shore roads, and to compel the employees of this last great thoroughfare to join the strikers. Disturbances were manifested at Albany, at Troy and at Rochester, in New York, at Erie, in Pennsylvania, and at all important



points westward to Chicago. But by wise management and concessions which the exigencies seemed to demand, the authorities of this great highway kept their employees generally in position. And while no freight was allowed to pass Buffalo, with diminished passenger trains and military protection, the Central and Lake Shore Roads were kept generally open, and their property protected. Thus in three days from the first revolt on the Baltimore and Ohio at Martinsburgh, three out of the four great routes of commerce across the continent were entirely blockaded, and in the hands of men who defied the civil authority; while the fourth and only remaining highway, was interrupted by mobs of workmen and their sympathizers, in all the chief cities through which it passed, and it was kept partially open chiefly by military efficiency. In less than three days more, this violent interruption to trade and travel had swept over the whole continent. And within three days after this strike, however orderly conducted, became successful, in every city from New York to San Francisco, the lawless element came to the surface. Scarcely a single railway escaped the craze of the engineers, brakemen and stokers, who demanded the redressing of real or imaginary wrongs, and the mob spirit followed their movement as effect follows efficient cause.

The Governors of the different States through which the strikes extended ordered all the militia composing the National Guard of their respective States under arms, and many of them appealed to the President of the United States for the help of national troops. The greater portion of the Army of the United States was at that juncture busy, under command of Major-General Howard, chasing and fighting the Indians of Joseph's and Looking-Glass' Bands, at that time in revolt in the far West. The balance was scattered in detachments, in barracks and forts, and was mostly in the South and on the Western coasts.

The President called his Cabinet together, discussed the situation, and weighed the question of declaring military law in some of the States, where the more threatening aspects became apparent. The War Department of the National Government became the scene of great energy and activity. The scattered regiments were gathered towards the East, as one State after another called for help. In the State of Pennsylvania there seemed, for various reasons, the greatest need for national troops.

Hurrying across the Mississippi Valley, Governor Hartranft issued, by telegraph, his proclamation to the rioters in Pennsylvania; and at the same time his orders for the march of the National Guard. Just one day after the great strike had become general, the tread of soldiers was heard, on the march towards Cumberland, towards Pittsburgh, Hornellsville, Port Jervis and Buffalo.

On the afternoon of July 20th, the Sixth Maryland Regiment began its march from Baltimore, for the relief of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway at Cumberland, and was attacked by the mob in the streets of that city. They fired upon this mob of from five to six thousand people, killing eight and wounding many more, and thus bloodshed began. On the night of the 20th, Philadelphia troops, about a thousand strong, passed over the Pennsylvania Railroad to Pittsburgh, where the demonstrations of the rioters appeared to be the most determined and dangerous. The condition of things there was aggravated by various unexpected causes, which were developed after the strike had begun. The laborers from the mills left their work, and joined the strikers in large numbers. The citizens generally sympathized with the railway operatives, in their contest with, and demands upon the railway. One of the regiments of the National Guard, recruited in the city, when called to duty, refused to aid the civil authority in suppressing the mob. The sheriff and police



manifested and expressed their inability to control the mob, and their views of the unwisdom of attempting to disperse the crowd.

At five o'clock on Saturday afternoon, July 21st, the Philadelphia troops arrived at Pittsburgh, only to find the whole city helpless and in the hands of the 'mob, while magistrates and police expressed fears of making any attempt to enforce the law. To this time good nature and quiet had prevailed among the strikers, as no serious attempt had been made to reduce them to order, or to disperse the gathered crowd. The troops, composed of parts of the First, Second and Third Regiments, having arrived under command of General Robert M. Brinton, a battalion of these soldiers, under Colonel Snowden, of the Third Regiment, was moved forward to take possession of the road. But as they marched under orders to clear the railway tracks, they were furiously attacked by the mob, and opened fire in self-defense. The crowd dispersed only to return armed from arsenals and gun shops, which they had rifled, to attack the guard with an insane fury. Being so greatly outnumbered, and possibly with the hope of avoiding further bloodshed, the Colonel ordered the militia into the Round House for shelter and defense. Here they maintained their position all night in defiance of the fiercest assaults the mob could make. It is estimated that more than fifty were killed or wounded by their shots.

All that night the crowd exerted its blind force to capture, drive out, or destroy the brave Battalion which fought for life. A cannon was brought to be fired upon the Round House with the expectation that its walls would be broken, but in vain. The deadly aim of the soldiers picked off the gunners, and created such a fear that the gun was abandoned. About one o'clock on Sabbath morning a train laden with petroleum was ignited, and pushed as near to the Round House as the track would permit, with the hope that the building would be

consumed, and the soldiers destroyed, or at least be compelled to flee from the stifling smoke. But the wind favored the troops, and the fire spread among the thousands of cars laden with merchandise.

Now the work of fury began. The wind, sown in a thoughtless ill nature by a people who had counted it a virtue to grumble at a great corporation, had suddenly become the whirlwind, with its overwhelming force of indiscriminate destruction. Men with sledge-hammers and axes broke down doors to cars and freight-houses, and men, women, and children began the work of pillage and theft. The torch was applied to the property of the road with desperate recklessness; while the fire companies of the city were compelled to stand by, to see it consumed, without an attempt to stay the flames, unless perchance these flames should touch private property.

It is due to the railway men, whose grievance had instigated, and whose blind fury had carried forward this mob, to record the fact that very few, if any of them were seen engaged in the work of pillage. If any railway workers were partakers in this degrading crime, they were not strikers, but men who had been dismissed before the strike began.

In the early morning of the 22d, cars laden with coke and saturated with coal oil, were pushed against the round house, and the soldiers were compelled to retreat. They did so at the cost of many a life. They were followed by the mob out of the city; and as they were refused admittance into any refuge, they saved themselves at last by retreating, in good order entirely out of the city, where they bivouacked among the mountains until ordered to other parts of the State. The story (oft repeated) of the *dispersing* of the Philadelphia troops *they indignantly deny*. They retreated to the suburbs and there bivouacked. They were not even allowed a refuge in the United States barracks, because the commander of the barracks had no sufficient force to protect them, as the officer in command supposed.

All that Sabbath morning the work of pillage and fire continued. The dead and wounded lay uncared for on the hill-sides, and in the streets. The streets of the city were filled with the vagrant crowds carrying home their plunder. Barrels of flour, and bales of goods, were trundled over the city by both men and women, and a very carnival of crime, and vagrancy, struck the people with terror. At noon the citizens met and sent a delegation of Priests, Protestant pastors, and influential citizens, of best reputation in the city, to attempt to treat with the mob. But only to find that mobs make no treaties, and indeed are incapable of it.

The riot and destruction continued until past the middle of the day without hindrance from any constituted civil authorities. Then the city aroused itself to the demands of the hour, and began to see the necessity, at any cost, for the reign of authority and law. A vigilant force, was organized by a few brave men, armed with ball bats, who took the field. As soon as this brave band of citizens appeared with its frown of honest determination, hundreds gathered to its help. With its simple uniform, a white ribbon tied upon the arm, this band speedily became a power before which the mob began to quail, and then to scatter. The more respectable soon came to the side of law and order.

The base-ball bats, with which these brave men first appeared on the scene of death, pillage, and fire, were soon exchanged for trusty guns, and the triumph of law was speedily secured. A line of limitation was drawn about the conflagration, the fire companies were set to work, and the mob slowly dispersed without further violence. The closing hours of that dreadful Sabbath, in Pittsburgh, witnessed the subsidence of the tempest of wicked fury. No further attempt seems to have been made to rally the mob, or destroy property; but through the wakeful hours of the succeeding night the citizens had time to meditate upon their fair city's danger, and dishonor.

The ashes of two thousand cars with their freight of rich merchandise, the ruined locomotives of all these trains, the miles of buildings and sheds, belonging to the railway, consumed, and the wreck and ruin which covered the tracks of the Pennsylvania Railway, from the Union Station to the Cattle Pens of East Liberty; combined with the awful spectacle of dead and mutilated men, women, and children, on the streets of one of the best cities of the land, remained to teach the people what it is to trifle with a lawless spirit; or for any grievance to suffer the supremacy of the law, even for a day, to be set aside. More than seven millions of property belonging to the railroad were destroyed in about twelve hours of riot, according to the estimate upon which payment was demanded from the city. The number of lives destroyed, or of people maimed, no man knows.

Through the following night, and for days and nights afterwards, the citizens kept the city with sleepless vigilance, until a sufficient number of trusty soldiers could be marched to their relief, and the organized strikers could be induced, or compelled, to surrender their stolen arms. The civil processes of the government then brought the people back under the power of order and law.

The day following this wretched disorder at Pittsburgh, attempts were made at Buffalo, N. Y., at Altoona, at Harrisburg, and at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, to inaugurate the same horror of irresponsible violence. But the troops gathered, and the brave fidelity of the local police, dispersed the mobs and placed their leaders in duress, with insignificant loss of life and property. This was specially true of the city of Philadelphia. Its faithful and efficient mayor, with his magnificently brave police, met the exigency with heroic vigor. Philadelphia had the best troops in the State; but her regiments had all been sent to other parts of the commonwealth. But the police force, without hesitancy, pressed

upon the vast crowds, armed with clubs and revolvers, and arrested all dangerous or boisterous men without hesitancy. Thus the mob was kept under constant control until all danger passed away.

On the 23rd of July, Governor Hartranft appealed to President Hayes for the help of United States troops, to enable him to suppress violence throughout the various cities of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania through which the railways pass, in which the civil authorities were not able to exercise sufficient control. The President promptly responded with a public proclamation, and hurried the scattered regiments, and fragments of regiments, that had been on post duty in all parts of the national domain, into the State at Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

On the same day, a portion of the National Guard was marched to Reading to protect the city and the railway property. The soldiers were but poorly trained, and seem to have been worse handled. They were marched into a deep railroad cut, where they could do little to protect themselves.

They were attacked by the mob on both sides in a furious onset, in which thirty lives were lost; and the whole city was smitten with terror. For a time this fair city was at the mercy of lawless men; and until reliable troops could be furnished, civil process was not attempted. The strike, however orderly, had no power to control the mob spirit. Indeed, the rise of the spirit of violence, as a direct result of the great strike, was manifest from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It swept over the whole lines of travel like a wave impelled by some unseen and undiscoverable force. This fury of passion, and spirit of murder, followed the success of the strikers, in almost every place, in about the same number of hours after the demands of the civil authority had been successfully resisted. Where no resistance, or military force, became apparent, the signs of failure or of the weakening of the strike

seemed to be the signal to that multitude, who had neither grievance to redress nor anything to lose, to come to the front, and fan the flames of violence.

While the incendiary fires were still burning in Pittsburgh, the same spirit which applied the torch and sacked the houses of traffic there, appeared in almost every city, and at every station, where the Brotherhood of Railway Employees had succeeded in inaugurating their strike. In Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, San Francisco, Chicago, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland and Buffalo the communistic element of the population came to the surface.

In Harrisburg, a crowd of noisy rioters appeared in the streets, the great body of whom seemed to be entire strangers in the city, and made night hideous with their noisy threatenings of fire and plunder. But the sheriff of Dauphin County was a man of nerve and resources. He was an excellent soldier and a conscientious executive officer. He quietly enlisted and armed a thousand, or more, of the best citizens, and had them prepared to rally to his help at a given signal. At midnight the fire-signals were sounded, and five hundred of these citizens appeared armed on the streets under orders of Col. W. W. Jennings, the faithful sheriff, and they dispersed this mob without firing a shot.

An immense crowd then gathered about the railway station, that seemed to have no special connection with the railway employees. About midnight an armed body of these men took possession of the Western Union Telegraph office, but were soon driven out by the sheriff, who appeared with a posse of a thousand citizens to reinstate the operators. This movement of the citizens seems to have made a profound impression upon the lawless elements, and secured safety to the city, and the railway property, until all danger was passed.

The same night about six hundred of the armed strikers left the city to intercept a company of the Philadelphia militia,



on its way from Altoona, and they succeeded in capturing a portion of them; but the balance marched around the city.

Such was the condition of most of the towns and cities where for three days the strikers had held the roads with what they published as, and doubtless was intended to be, *an orderly strike*. It certainly demonstrated that such a thing as an *orderly strike* is impossible. This is but a contradiction of terms by which no wise man can be deceived.

The brotherhood, which inaugurated the great strike, disclaimed any intention to injure or destroy property. They proposed only to stop the movement of business in an illegal way, and in spite of legal authority, until their grievances were redressed. In the beginning they had, or seemed to have, the honest sympathy of the great mass of the people in almost all places. On one of the roads, at least, the trains were regularly run on schedule time by the strikers themselves, and were fully patronized, and everything was surrendered in good order when the strike ended. Doubtless they were as much surprised as were the public authorities when the spirit of lawlessness was fully aroused, and became manifest. The proportions and success of their strike had, in three days, produced their legitimate fruits, in the insecurity of property and then of life, which at once threatened to reduce society to chaos. These legitimate fruits were quickly discerned by the better class of the strikers themselves. In many places the strikers tendered their services to the railway, or even to the civil authorities, for the protection of property, and the control of all outbreaks of violence. In others they placed guards of their own, and they expelled with promptness from their crowd those who were heard to advocate fire and pillage. Yet it was quickly demonstrated, in almost every centre of their activity, that these strikers, with the best intentions, but with their unlawful modes of action, had generated forces which they had no ability to check, direct, or control. A

child, or even a burrowing crawfish, may let the pent-up waters through the dyke; but who shall stop the floods, or place limits to the destruction which must follow?

By the 24th of July this organized force, which was set in array against law and order to correct the wrongs of a worthy class of citizens, and intelligent workmen, was followed by the communistic frenzy which its own acts drew forth from the depths of society. And in three days that frenzy had swept over almost every railway of the Commonwealth. Like some azotic gas, this lawless spirit settled down upon the towns, cities, and communities. It put out the fires of industry, and smote with a deadly paralysis the business and trade of the people. Shut within homes of strange fear and apprehension, the great body of the law-abiding citizens waited in apparent helplessness the issue of this business convulsion. Thoughtful people stood perplexed or aghast, before the proportions of the great strike, and the multitude pursued, with silent thoughtfulness, their daily tasks with such helps as they could secure, all the while wondering whereunto this matter would grow. Too often this multitude vainly concluded that the path of safety and right must lie somewhere between the great corporations and their employees, who stood in open revolt against liberty and law, as fully as against the oppressions of the hireling in the matter of his wages; instead of upon that path of moral rectitude, and regulated liberty, which leads the weakest, as well as the strongest, into the refuge of justice and law; the only impregnable citadel of society and government.



## CHAPTER III.

## THE SIROCCO AND THE SIMOON.

The Strike in the Anthracite Coal-fields of Pennsylvania—The City's Exposure and Danger—"They cry Peace! Peace! when there is no Peace"—They Seek their Rights, by the way of Wrong.

THE great strike seemed to loiter on its way to the anthracite coal-fields of Pennsylvania. The railways centering in the Lackawanna and Wyoming Valleys were among the last in the State to be interrupted. The causes for this delay may have been various. They are difficult to trace. It may have been because of the sad experiences of the miners' strikes of 1870 and 1871, from which the business interests had very slowly and imperfectly recovered. It may have arisen from the visible relations and mutual dependence of all the great fields of labor and enterprise in this region. Or the postponement of this crisis may have been caused by the very great mixture of races, and the prejudices of the population. Experience had demonstrated the danger of arousing the passions of that ignorant and wicked class, who were known to infest the coal-fields, who are without homes or social ties, and who always seem to be able to live without work; while they complain perpetually of their inability to live with it. The hesitancy and delay in participating in the strike may have had its cause in the historic fact, that the three great roads which controlled the transportation through the valley had always shown a disposition to deal justly with their employees. The managers, and superintendents of these railways were generally

men who had prepared themselves for their places of trust by a practical education, in which they had passed through all the lower positions. Hence they were both able and disposed to appreciate, both the duties and the trials of the employees in all departments. Engineers and brakemen knew they were appreciated, and had faith in the men over them generally. The conduct of these men, after the strike was consummated, demonstrated that it was the demand of the Brotherhood, rather than any special grievance or wrong which stopped them. It may have been any, or all of these facts and convictions that worked the delay, on the part of the orderly and industrious trainmen, on the roads centering in Scranton. It may have been the lack of any real grievance against the roads they served, which made them hesitate to join their brethren in the attempt to compel the corporations, all over the country, to remove the grievances under which their employees suffered. But it was after the traffic on almost all the other highways of the State had been interrupted, and the citizens at home had enjoyed their laugh at the expense of their unlucky brethren, who had been set down in strange places where no thoroughfare could be found, that the rumors of the strike in their own midst began to grow definite and ominous.

Strange faces began to appear about the shops and in the streets of Scranton. The mines with their breakers, and the mills with their busy hammers were in full operation. Yet the streets were filled with a people who seemed to wander about with aimless purpose. After the strike upon the Erie Railway to the north had closed that highway, the shipment of trains over the Delaware & Hudson and the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railways increased; and omens of prosperity were not lacking for four or five days after the temporary success of the strike had been secured all over the State. But at noon of July 24th, the employees of the Lackawanna Iron & Coal Company, having no connection

with the railways, without premonition or complaint, left the rolling-mill with a cheer, as the gong sounded for the noon hour, and marched in a body to the other mills of the company, where they were joined by the workmen. From thence they proceeded to the machine shops of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railway. Here they gathered the workmen in an orderly way. Mr. W. W. Scranton, the manager of the Lackawanna Iron & Coal Company, having learned of this movement, followed the workmen immediately and asked for an explanation of their conduct. They answered simply that they could not work for the wages they were receiving.

There were about a thousand of the employees of the Lackawanna Iron & Coal Company who left the works. After they had been accosted by the manager, and kindly informed that the company fully sympathized with the workmen, and regretted the state of business, which compelled the reduction of wages, but that he could give them no encouragement to hope for an increase at present, they quietly dispersed in small bands, and spent the afternoon walking about the city in an orderly way.

On the 23d the trainmen of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railway, and of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company, presented to Superintendents Hallstead and Manville a series of resolutions, in which they demanded a restoration of the ten per cent. reduction to which they had been subjected with the employees of the other roads. The superintendents promised an answer as soon as the papers could be forwarded to the headquarters in New York and answer returned. The answer came on the afternoon of the 24th, and was a distinct refusal, which was announced to the Committee of the Brotherhood, then in secret session in Scranton.

At six o'clock P. M., of the next day (July 24th), the firemen of these roads struck, in an orderly way, which indicated a careful preparation. There was manifest no excitement nor

anger. The locomotives were all taken to the yards, their fires carefully drawn, and left in their proper places. Coal trains were left in good order on the tracks in the yard. One train which had left on its regular time, which was prior to the hour agreed upon for the strike, when six o'clock arrived, had its engine reversed and was quietly returned to the yard. In less than an hour the whole work was done, the strike was consummated without friction, and the trainmen retired to their homes with quiet dignity. The busiest place in the city was thus left, in a single afternoon, to a painful silence.

At the same hour, and in the same orderly manner, the trainmen of the Delaware & Hudson Company left their work. Thus all the wheels of freight and coal trains ceased to roll, as soon as they could be placed on switches or in the yards in safety. It became immediately evident that the men on these roads had acted in concert, and were involved with the strange power of the secret Brotherhood, whose efficiency had manifested itself all over the country. This was asserted in the Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys, as on other roads, to be a strike of the firemen of freight trains alone. But it very soon involved all who were employed in the running of trains, whether passenger or freight.

The excitement spread rapidly over the city, and painful apprehension took hold of the whole people.

The papers on the day on which the strike was begun in Scranton were full of the details of the bloody scenes, enacted at Pittsburgh, Altoona, Reading and Harrisburg. The day before this all the troops, that belonged to the city and its vicinity, had left under orders of General Osborne, to be used at different points in the State, to preserve order, and could not be returned by rail, thus leaving the city without any military force. A great many families were troubled because their members were out of the city; many of them only

gone for a day, under claims of business, but with little prospect now of being able to reach their homes.

But what was far worse, the whole business community knew, that this strike of railway men necessarily involved a cessation of mining; if not an entire suspension of the mills, and manufactures of all sorts; and most probably would determine, or precipitate, a strike in all the industries of the valley. However orderly the trainmen might be, however quietly they might conduct themselves; or however narrow and specific the demands they might make; every one acquainted with the relation of industries in the coal fields, and with the want of confidence then existing, knew that there was vastly more involved in the "orderly strike," as it was called, than could be hidden in any question of wages for firemen and engineers.

If the coal trains shall cease to carry the coal to market, the mining of coal must cease; for a very limited amount can be held at the mouth of the mines at any time; and the vast capital involved demands ceaseless activity, if workmen are to receive their wages. Beyond this mystery of combination, which showed itself powerful enough to be able to move with a certain dignity and careful quietness of method, towards questionable if not unlawful ends, the people of Scranton saw a whole army of at least 30,000 miners, laborers, iron workers, and teamsters, whose industries must become immediately involved and whose work must stop.

Apprehension like a dense cloud settled in an hour over the whole community, when the fact of the railway strike became known.

This cloud was slightly lifted when late at night it was learned that the passenger trains due were allowed to go on to their destination, and that the strikers had abandoned no train by the way.

Along the streets men began to speculate upon the prospec-

tive effects and uses of the strike. They said the suspension of the shipment of coal must, as a natural consequence, stop the work at the mines, and of course this will force the price of coal upward by the law of demand and supply ; then sufficient wages can be paid. So the people whose interests were so deeply and suddenly involved, without their knowledge, turned to the logic of strikes for comfort.

Meanwhile the strikers and mill-hands, alike, gathered at their places of council. In the afternoon, about the time the answer to the firemen's demand arrived from New York, the miners of the D. L. and W. Railway gathered in Fellows Hall, in Hyde Park, to discuss the situation and prospects. They showed their real apprehensions by pledging themselves *to stand for law and order whatever might be the issue.*

In the evening the strikers of the Lackawanna Iron & Coal Company, who had left their work at noon, met in secret session at the Father Matthew Hall, in the city, and, although they admitted no outsiders, they were careful to have it understood that their speakers, who discussed their grievances, were all *in favor of maintaining the peace and quiet of the city in every emergency.*

The railway men quietly retired to their homes leaving their cause in the hands of their council, or committee, of the Brotherhood, which held its session in Washington Hall. So the night of the 24th of July wore away in gloom and apprehension. A large number of the families of property-holders, merchants, and professional men were separated. Members of these families were absent on business, or scattered about the sea shore and through the wilderness, for the enjoyment of vacation, and with the sudden stoppage of trains, they seemed so far away ; while the possibilities of lawlessness and wicked violence overshadowed the homes that were absolutely without defense. The Mayor, with his eleven policemen and a few constables, constituted the whole force appointed to watch



over the lives and property in the city of nearly 40,000 inhabitants.

The municipal government of the city of Scranton was, perhaps, at this time, on a fair average with that of cities all over the country. It enjoyed about as much of the confidence of the mass of the people as institutions subject to mere party contest, and party administration, where the chief party issues are the spoils of office, are likely to possess. But the great mixture of the population in its variety of races forming the community, whose lines of separation had been made sharper by the dreadful experiences of the years when the villany of the Molly Maguire association had worked without rebuke; had fostered a want of confidence in all departments of municipal administration, and had greatly weakened judicial authority.

Offices were filled by men who, however virtuous or able, had been placed in nomination by party machinery, and elected by a compromise, or division of races, in which the question of availability was far more important than that of fitness or ability. The history of the city had demonstrated, in the strikes and disturbances of the past, that the safety of the people had been secured by the orderly spirit of the mass of citizens, rather than by the efficiency of public officers. But when this strike began, whatever might have been the confidence of the citizen in his municipal officials, there was neither man nor woman of the city who did not know that these officials were powerless before such forces of passion as were daily gathered in the streets.

At the dawn of the morning of the 25th of July the Mayor issued an address to the citizens, important for its timeliness and wisdom, which doubtless did much towards restoring confidence to the community, and securing careful action on the part of the strikers. His address reminded the whole people, in words at which they could take no offense, of the



dangers, and measureless disasters, to which the city was exposed, and called upon all citizens to conduct themselves with calm thoughtfulness; and use their best endeavors for the maintenance of law and order. This caution was published none too soon; for while the Mayor's address was being read by the citizens at their homes in the morning, crowds of excited men gathered at different points in the city. It was learned that the strike, which had begun at noon the day before, was extending with great rapidity and uniformity throughout both the city and the valley, and was gathering to its measures all kinds of artizans.

A large and excited crowd gathered at the railway station, which fronted on Lackawanna Avenue, about eight o'clock in the morning. All seemed to be impressed with the conviction that something extraordinary was about to happen. It was rumored that the mail train from the north, which was due at 9.50 A. M., had a large number of passengers, and was ploughing through great excitement and demonstrations of violence. At Great Bend a crowd had greeted the train with shouts, and an attempt had been made to detach the passenger cars, which the engineer frustrated by rapid movement. But no farther serious difficulty was met until the train had turned the curve just below the Gap, near the Diamond Mine above Scranton, when it was flagged by a committee of the strikers, who announced their determination to take off the passenger cars, allowing only the mail car to proceed. As soon as the train stopped at Hyde Park station, a large crowd surrounded it and watched while the passenger cars, filled with travelers, were detached and left standing on the track, while the engine, with the express and mail cars, was suffered to come on to the Scranton station.

As soon as this fragment of the train arrived, the platform of the station became crowded with a surging mass of excited men. A large number applied for tickets for New York, but

were quietly refused by the ticket agent, Mr. W. H. Fuller, who had learned the intention of the strikers to allow no passenger trains to go forward.

Assistant Postmaster E. L. Buck, who had come to the station with a large mail, learned that the strikers did not propose to stop the mail car; and so applied to Superintendent Hallstead for instructions. He was informed that if the passenger cars were not allowed to go, the mail car certainly should not. The strikers would have to meet the responsibility of interfering with the United States mail.

This the strikers seemed very anxious to avoid. They entered at once upon a very earnest endeavor to persuade, and then to compel the superintendent to send forward the locomotive with the mail car. They proposed not only to show the corporations what they were not allowed to do, but what they were required to do. They proposed even to run the mail themselves, and give "the honor of the Brotherhood" in pledge for its safety. They had no grievance against the United States Government, and might even consent to do this great government work themselves without pay. They telegraphed the Governor of the State, and then the Postmaster-general, and asked that the mail car should be required to go forward. The Governor answered with a request to Mr. Hallstead that he would permit the mail car to go forward. The Postmaster-General was silent. But the superintendent was inflexible. The contract of the road only required them to carry the mails with their passenger trains, and if the one could not go, he said, neither could the other.

So Postmaster Buck telegraphed the fact and nature of the obstructions to his superiors, asked for instructions, then carried his letter sacks back to the office, where he lit his pipe and sat down upon them to wait for coming events. The city of Scranton was thus suddenly cut off from all communication with the outside world, except such as could be had by private conveyance.

This isolation, serious and unexampled as it was, was but the beginning of troubles in and about the city. The 25th of July was filled with strange paradoxes, in the life of the city. The mixture of intense excitement, with the marked calmness of the people; the noiseless quiet of the great crowds, the emphatic protests of the multitudes engaged in trampling down law, *that they should stand by law and order* under all circumstances, fairly bewildered the people. All that they could do was simply to wait.

At the same hour that the passenger trains were stopped, a committee of miners waited upon Mr. William R. Storrs, the Coal Superintendent of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railway, and demanded 25 per cent. immediate advance of wages. They placed in his hands their resolutions, adopted the day before, requiring that all work should stop until their demand should be met. The superintendent replied that he had no power to grant their demand; and that no answer could be obtained from the directors by the hour they had fixed upon to cease work. This committee retired, and, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, made their report to a mass-meeting of miners and laborers at the "Round Woods," in Hyde Park, only to find that even a sufficient delay to transmit their demands to the office in New York, and obtain an answer, could not be granted. The miners' strike followed immediately. So the mines were closed, and an army of idle men and boys from the whole valley was turned into the streets.

The Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company strikers, who had sent a committee the evening before to General Manager Scranton with their demand, received from him a written answer, which was a model of kindness and courtesy. It assured them of the impossibility of the Company granting an advance, until better times should come, when they would only be too happy to raise the wages of all deserving

workmen. This answer was discussed with closed doors, and on the morning of the 25th the conclusion was announced that all work should cease in the mills until their demands should be met. Just before noon the great engines of the blast-furnaces and rolling-mills stopped for the first time in their history. The puddling-furnaces were abandoned to be chilled, and the silence of death passed over this great industry which, for upwards of forty years, had been as the centre of life to the city and the adjacent valley.

About the same hour the workmen employed in the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western car shops made the same demand of Superintendent Robert McKenna; and receiving a negative answer, promptly left in a body, and the busy shops were all closed. So it occurred before nightfall of July 25th, in less than thirty hours from the first movement of the strike, every great industry of the city and the valley, was stopped except one: that of the Pennsylvania Coal Company, with its gravity road. An awful silence crept along the streets and into the homes of the people.

The tread of silent men, like the march of threatening ghosts, smote the ears of the troubled people along the streets, and benumbed their hearts with fear. The setting sun glanced down upon the whole valley, of such wonderful schemes of industry, and revealed a quiet which was like nothing so much as death. Of the thousands of engines which had so long glorified the coal fields, hanging silver clouds over the valley and on the sides of the mountains, all were silent and still. There was no sound of either wheels or hammers in all the beautiful valley from the gateway of the Susquehanna through the Moosic mountain, to the canal basins and coal deposits on the Lackawaxen. Save for the lonely puff of the engines that pumped the water from some of the mines, which could not be stopped without absolute ruin, the signs of industry had all departed. The strike had in two days become universal.

An organized power of real Anarchy had usurped the place of law in the community, and, with sublime pretence of virtue, assured the helpless people that they were entirely safe. This was but the gentle, graceful movement of the viper to quiet the heart-beat of the little child. This was the purring lullaby of the lion that has his prey under his paw.

With foot upon the neck of civil authority, this power waved away with scorn, the fears and sense of right, which suggested to the city's magistrate a call for military force to protect the city. With sublime assumption these strikers called the mayor from his executive chair to treat with committees of law-breakers, and demanded that he should recognize them as the only proper keepers of the public peace.

Such were the scenes which closed that day; a day which was followed by a night whose silence was so intense and painful the people could not sleep. The strike was, indeed, a complete success. But the most anxious, painful watcher saw, among the stars that kept on their solemn pace through the silent hours, no sign which augured hope that a single grievance of a single honest workman, would be removed thereby. Nor did such a sign ever appear along such a line of tortuous vision.

## CHAPTER IV.

## DIVIDED COUNSELS.

Justice Fallen in the Streets—Efforts to Establish Law by Compromise, and Order by Treaty with Law-breakers—Preparations for Defense and Protection—Generation and Concentration of Forces, Open and Secret—The Wheels begin to Revolve again, not without Friction—Law-abiding Citizens propose in their Own Way to assist the Law-breakers to keep the Peace of the City.

WE have now reached a point in our narrative when history, in order to be intelligent and truthful, must become more or less personal. When the civil authority is overcome and defied, the honest citizen becomes a law unto himself. When the light of legal authority is eclipsed or put out, the good and the true must kindle lights for themselves. Society reduced to chaos, whether by the wicked or by the deceived, must crystallize about brave spirits who are endowed with wisdom to devise and courage to execute the plans by which order shall be restored and safety secured. The entirely unprecedented condition of affairs and the recognized helpless posture of the executors of law, on the night of July 25th, in the city, set every law-abiding citizen to the consideration of his personal and public duty; and the immediately succeeding days developed a force of personal manhood, and a patriotic devotion, which remain still as a rich legacy in the history of the city. The city's imminent and visible danger suggested to all good citizens the wisdom of a careful search for some reliable and sufficient defense.



Circumstances have much to do in determining character generally. Exigency develops manhood with extraordinary rapidity. When danger threatens, the timid gather about the brave, and the weak lay hold of the strong. Thus virtuous society quickly reaches its poise, gathers up its strength to withstand the shock of anarchy, and sets itself to rescue the legitimate authority from weakness and dishonor.

The city of Scranton on the 25th of July, 1877, when the strike had reached its largest proportions, and had caused every industry of the valley to cease except one, was perhaps more fully at the mercy of the elements that chose to be lawless than any city that had been visited by the great strike. The city was thought to contain about forty-eight thousand inhabitants, and was made up, socially and very much geographically, of communities defined by race, tastes and habits of life. Very naturally the different races and nationalities, when they came in sufficient numbers, segregated; and had formed communities in this city, as in most of the cities in the country. While this habit probably added to the enjoyment and increased the home feeling of the generation of emigrants, and did not prevent the people from being good citizens, it certainly retarded the unification of the population and gave rise to perplexing questions concerning municipal administration. These different communities dwelt generally in peace, by simply allowing each to follow its own modes of life, and by quietly submitting to the general results in the conduct of city affairs without complaint. Yet, abnormal as it would seem to be, this very segregation of the races had long proved a real force in securing the general good order of the city. It constantly kept alive that pride of blood which made each community the keeper of the reputation of its own people. But this situation, and these distinct populations, made the problem as to how this whole people might be fused into a unit in support of the authority of law, insoluble to any finite mind.



The great shops and factories were almost entirely situated along the line of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railway, and to the south of it. Most of the business of the city was confined, at that time, to Lackawanna and Penn Avenues. The first of these avenues runs its whole length nearly parallel with the railway, and only half a square from it at any point.

The miners, who are chiefly Welsh, had homes of their own, and lived chiefly on the west side of the river, in what was then known as Hyde Park.

The Germans, who were generally artisans and skilled workmen, centered about Cedar street, on the south-west. The Irish laborers, in great numbers, lived on the hill to the south and on the flats along the river, or gathered in houses belonging to the company they served, about the breakers where they were employed. The purely American population, with those that readily assimilated with them, very generally occupied the central part of the city, spreading out to the northward as far as Providence. While the city was greatly scattered and occupied a large territory, the great mass of its business and valuable property were strikingly concentrated. The almost countless "Patches," as they were called, on all sides in the outskirts, were beyond the reach of a police and afforded nests for hatching any kind of schemes of communism and violence. An hour's work of such a mob as at that time could have been gathered in less than an hour, could have ruined all the best interests of the city. Such was the vision of Scranton that hovered about the pillows of the thinking people on the night of the 25th, when the strike had reached its climax, and had the city at its mercy.

The Mayor, the Hon. Robert H. McKune, from the beginning of the strike, seemed to appreciate the real situation, and with a patience and wisdom entirely unexpected, and little apprehended at the time, addressed himself to the work of a

mediator between the strikers and their employers. He had been elected, chiefly, by the men who now assumed the control of the city; and hence held a questionable position in the confidence of the great mass of the law-abiding citizens, which made his work only the more difficult.

On the morning of the 26th the Mayor published his call upon all business men who were willing to combine for protection and the maintenance of order, to present themselves at his office and enroll as "special police." At the same time he published the names of ten responsible citizens whom he had selected as advisers, and requested them to report at his office at nine o'clock in the morning. These gentlemen were W. W. Winton, Colonel F. L. Hitchcock, Austin M. Decker, Henry B. Rockwell, B. G. Morgan, Lewis Pughe, J. A. Price, M. W. Clark, C. Dupont Breck, and Edward Merrifield.

This committee met at the time appointed, and discussed the situation. They soon found themselves divided on the question of organizing a force to meet any violent, or openly lawless, movement of the strikers. The majority favored a quiet and peaceable waiting, with confidence in the protestations of all the committees of the strikers, that they would maintain order themselves, and see that no violence should be attempted in the city. At least two members of the committee earnestly advised the enrolling of special police, and the gathering of arms for their use. So the Mayor, under a divided judgment of his advisers, opened his books for the enrollment of special police, in accordance with the published call of Governor Hartranft upon all communities where the strike prevailed.

Meanwhile the strikers held almost continual sessions by their head men and committees. Each division or society of labor had its own headquarters, and carefully excluded all who did not belong to their particular association. The "Brotherhoods" of Railway-men, occupying Washington Hall on Lackawanna Avenue, but a square away from the station and

railway offices, very soon manifested their conviction that a greater responsibility had been taken than they had intended. They had expected to fight their own battle. They seem neither to have expected nor desired to be joined by the miners, laborers, or workers in the mills. The mayor met their committee and tried to arrange terms of agreement for them with the superintendents. To him they repeated their pledge to maintain law and order in the city. The strikers from the mills met in the "Father Matthew Hall," and passed resolutions denying the right of the Mayor to appoint "special police," and requesting the City Council to interfere to prevent it, or at least to refuse to pay such police; and the Councils did pass their vote of censure upon his honor in obedience to this indignant demand. The miners took similar action at Fellows' Hall, and filled the air with the expression of their hot indignation at the mayor's call for aid to preserve the peace of the city. So the citizens and the strikers were alike divided.

At the hour appointed for the enrollment of the Special Police, the mayor, on entering his office in perplexity over the various opinions on the subject, found two men waiting to write their names, and so he opened his book for enrollment. The first name written and accepted was that of H. H. Merrill, the teacher of a boys' school in the city, who ever after was found ready and unflinching in his public duty. The second was Henry M. Boies, who will appear again in this history as one to whom the Scranton City Guard, and the City itself, owes a heavy debt of gratitude. The third enrollment was that of Ezra H. Ripple; the fourth, that of Charles R. Smith; the fifth, that of Harry V. Logan; the sixth, that of Peter F. Gunster, and the seventh, F. L. Hitchcock. A very few more names were added, when it became evident that the great weight of opinion was against the measure, and it was prosecuted no farther. There were two lines of conviction, which very soon became apparent; one of which was that of a large

class of good citizens,—that any preparation which might be undertaken could only excite and anger the strikers, and thus possibly precipitate a mob, which it would be impossible to gather force enough to control; the other was that of many equally good citizens, who believed a force of resistance should be organized, but who lacked faith in the Mayor himself, and were unwilling to put themselves under his command; while they were entirely ready to enlist for the defense of the city. The published accounts of the conduct of executive officers in other parts of the State had not tended to the establishment of faith in a mayor, who had not yet established himself in the confidence of the best citizens.

At the door of the Mayor's office, about nine o'clock in the morning of the 26th, two young men casually met, and for some time discussed the situation. They agreed that the citizens ought to arm, and prepare for the protection of the city. They saw the city's danger, but discovered no defense. The one had just written his name on the mayor's book as a special policeman, and was a worthy veteran of the war; the other was a law student, who refused to enlist in that way, but expressed his readiness to join an independent company; and give his service to the raising of volunteers for such a company at once. These two young men were Charles R. Smith and Arthur C. Logan. They slowly walked up the street discussing the matter until they reached the conclusion to act without delay, and test the possibility of raising an independent company for the city's defense. The state of the public mind and the peculiar danger, they knew, demanded very quiet and secret action, and they pledged themselves to each other to stand together. They entered the drug-store, which was then kept by one J. H. Phelps, at the corner of Wyoming Avenue and Spruce Street; and there wrote an enlistment paper, and set out immediately to secure signatures. That paper was as follows: to wit,—

"Whereas, by a call dated July 25, 1877, the Mayor of this city has called upon the business men for organization; and whereas, the present state of affairs in the city and vicinity warrants a feeling of insecurity on the part of the business portion of the community; and, although a creditable determination is expressed by all parties to the present conflict of interests, and while we have the fullest confidence in their good faith, still we feel that an organization, on our part, will present tangible support to their efforts in sustaining the legal authorities in preserving peace and good order, and will guarantee protection to property in the event of intrusion from such elements of discord as might present themselves:

"We, therefore, proffer our services as a company, to be known as the 'Scranton Citizens' Corps,' in furtherance of the objects above set forth.  
*July 26th, 1877."*

It might be a question, suggested by the peculiar structure of this paper, whether it proposed a company to aid the strikers, or the legal authorities, in the maintenance of order. But subsequent events left no doubt of the real intention.

This paper was signed by one hundred and sixteen young men in the course of the day. The first name upon it is that of Ezra H. Ripple, and bears the evidence that it was not written by himself but by Mr. Smith, who doubtless had authority to do so. These young men secured the interest of a merchant, R. B. Merriam by name, in the movement, who went out with them to help to enlist their company. They were soon joined by H. V. Logan, John T. Howe and Samuel H. Stevens; and these six completed the work, with great quietness, before the day closed. After nightfall, they gathered the men they had enlisted in the rooms of the "Forest & Stream Sportsman's Club," on Lackawanna Avenue, over the Lackawanna Valley Bank, without the knowledge of the owners of the building. Mr. Smith happened to have a key, and took the responsibility of opening the doors, being a member of the club. As near as can be determined twenty-eight of the signers of this paper appeared at this meeting, which was organized by the election of Frederick W. Gunster, chairman,



and S. H. Stevens, secretary. The minutes of their meeting were preserved in memoranda that have never been fully written out; but the discussions and items of business are sufficiently indicated, and become quite clear in the light of well-known facts. The questions which divided and perplexed the citizens generally came up in the meeting. They were such questions as these: What relations should this company hold to the Mayor? How can it be so organized as to be legal, and yet remain entirely in the command of its own officers when on duty? One party desired to have the whole membership enrolled as special police, but found very little following, and it was decided to organize independently as the "Scranton Citizens' Corps."

Ezra H. Ripple, who as yet knew nothing of the shape matters had taken, being out of the city, was nominated as Captain, and received every vote, except one, which was cast for Colonel F. L. Hitchcock. The Colonel had made an excellent record in the war, both as a soldier and commanding officer, and was personally popular; and the only explanation of his small vote for this command is to be found in the fact that he was a member of the mayor's committee, and advocated direct relationship to that officer, on the part of the company.

R. B. Merriam was elected first-lieutenant, and James E. Brown second-lieutenant; the latter being elected over G. S. Throop, who received a respectable vote. These officers were authorized by vote to appoint all the non-commissioned officers who might be needed. Committees were appointed on membership, and for securing a place for drill. The number of members was by vote limited to one hundred and one; but this order was rescinded on the following day. It was ordered that the company should report for duty only upon the call of its own officers, and then it adjourned until the evening of the 27th.

Thus "The Scranton Citizens' Corps" was organized with





Ernst H. Rippke



the utmost secrecy, to avoid excitement, and found itself without arms or ammunition, or even a place in the city where it would be prudent, or safe, to attempt to drill. But it was made up of cool heads and stout hearts, and had in it many who knew what war is; men who proposed to stand by the interests of the city and maintain the law, whatever might be the consequences to themselves.

During the same day there were other men, who knew nothing of this movement to organize a military company, who were busy rendering services by which this inchoate company was speedily to become a force for the maintenance of the legal authority.

Early on the morning of the 26th Captain Ripple went to Wilkes-Barre, on business, in company with Mr. James Ruthven, having authorized Charles R. Smith to sign his name on the mayor's call for special police. These gentlemen called upon General Osborne, then commanding the National Guard in this part of the State, and obtained from him authority, which was issued to Mr. Ruthven, to collect all arms he could find belonging to the State in the region, and hold them in Scranton. With this authority they started for home, only to find that the last train had been stopped. By the kindness of an engineer they were permitted to return late at night on a locomotive, sent out by a committee of strikers to bring engineers to their homes. It was not until the next morning that the captain learned of his election to command a military company, of whose existence he had no knowledge. Mr. Ruthven immediately set about the work of collecting arms, with profound secrecy and courage. He could only move on his work late at night, and take with him one or two helpers, at most, to avoid attracting attention. His work was made doubly hazardous from the fact that, as the head clerk of the coal department of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Road, he was well known to the strikers, whether railway men

or miners. Through Providence and Abington he drove his team, after midnight, gathering the guns left in the hands of a disbanded militia company, having with him a single assistant. Within three days he secured about three hundred and fifty guns—quite a respectable armament. The banks and railway officers were unwilling to have these guns placed in their safes, and the mayor applied to Mr. Scranton, who received them without hesitancy and made no secret of their being in his possession.

While Ruthven was employed in this work, whose definite use he had not yet discerned, three brave young men of the Citizens' Company took it into their heads to secure ammunition for the guns, they knew they must have, if they were to be of any use in protecting the city.

So, on the night of the 26th of July, in a two-seated buggy, they drove to Kingston, aroused General Osborne from his bed about midnight, and secured an order for any fixed ammunition they might find in Pittston, which could be spared by the militia stationed there. On they drove, and after great risk, and difficulty, they secured three hundred rounds from the officer in command; placed these under the seat of their buggy, and about daybreak of the 27th, put them in a place of safety, in Scranton. These three men were William J. Watts, William W. Paterson and William B. Henwood, three brave Williams, all of whom proved themselves efficient and faithful soldiers in the after events of the service.

As soon as the blast-furnaces were stopped, at noon of the 20th, forces began to develop specific purposes about the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company's works and store. Mr. W. W. Scranton, the General Manager, was known to the whole city as a man of decided courage and of unflinching purpose. Warned by the experiences of 1871, when he had demonstrated the wisdom of meeting lawless movements with boldness and force, he had secured fifty stands of breech-loading rifles, and had them stowed away for use. He

learned that many of the men, who had hastily gone into the strike, were sick of the venture, and would at once return to work if they could be protected. He wrote them an eloquent letter, appealing to their manhood and patriotic principles. He assured them of the certain ultimate triumph of law and order, and promised them all the protection they needed. Near one o'clock, on the same day, Mr. Henry A. Kingsbury, superintendent of the Company store, discovered strange and suspicious men entering in and passing through the store. He sent them out and had them shadowed. They were strangers in the city, and he found they joined the crowd of strikers. About half an hour afterwards, a man who had a kindly heart towards Mr. Kingsbury, came to him out of breath, and revealed the plot of a multitude in the outskirts of the city to come by night and rifle the store. He said all kinds of vehicles had been secured to carry away the goods. This man's story was soon sufficiently corroborated from other sources to warrant the organization of an efficient guard. Mr. Kingsbury requested all clerks, who had sufficient courage, to remain for the night on the watch. Mr. Scranton brought out the guns of the Company, put them in the hands of the clerks, and prepared to give the robbers a warm reception. They sent out and secured the volunteer services of a number of the best young men of the city, to help them watch. On the first night they had sixteen gathered as a little band for the protection of the property; while the ladies connected with the store, under the direction of Mrs. W. W. Manness, Miss Mary Mattes and Mrs. Saxton, organized a commissary for them. As the clerks had to be on duty during the day, the young men from outside assumed the whole duty of the night-watch.

On the 27th, Captain Ripple, with the committee on securing a drill-room for the Citizen's Company, made application for every unoccupied hall in the central part of the city, and

failed entirely. The owners of these properties were afraid to have them used, even secretly, for such a purpose. The Company found no moral support from the business citizens generally. The great body of them were unwilling to have it known that such an organization existed. In the evening the Company met in the rooms of the Forest and Stream Club again, when seventy-six members seem to have been present. The committee on drill-room reported progress, and was continued. Volunteers to clean guns which had been gathered, and prepare ammunition, were called for, and Thomas H. Watts, George F. Barnard, M. J. Andrews, W. W. Paterson, W. J. Watts, E. H. Ripple, J. E. Brown, H. V. and A. C. Logan and H. A. Knapp volunteered for the first night's work. A number of the members of this company had been on watch the night before, with the sixteen in the Company's store.

The following non-commissioned officers were appointed ; to wit : orderly sergeant, Daniel Bartholomew ; 2d sergeant, Andrew Bryson, Jr. ; 3d sergeant, W. W. Paterson ; 4th sergeant, Walter Chur ; 5th sergeant, Edward J. Smith ; 6th sergeant, F. L. Hitchcock. A roll of classified members was prepared, with their place of business, where notification, on sudden call from the officers, could reach them ; and a signal was determined upon by which the company should be called together at any time of day or night. This signal was a specified number of taps on the bell in the tower of the First Presbyterian Church, which was the oldest and best-known bell in the city. At its signal every member bound himself to report at headquarters as quickly as he could reach it. Henry V. and Arthur C. Logan, the sons of the pastor, were appointed to give this signal, and were placed under strict orders to give it only when they should receive command from one of the three officers of the company.

Meanwhile, in the different headquarters of the strikers,



their leaders were busy. Their committees held continuous session. On the 26th a number of the leading men and railway directors met in the Wyoming House in consultation. Among these were Thomas Dickson, President of the Delaware & Hudson, C. F. Young, J. J. Albright, R. Manville, Edward W. Weston and others of that road; Mr. John Brisbin and Isaac J. Post, counsellors for the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western R. R., with Messrs. Hallstead, Storrs, Fowler and others of that road. The railway strikers sent an engine down the road with a committee to consult with the leaders of their Brotherhood at some point between Scranton and New York; and the Mayor worked all day of the 27th to secure a basis of compromise between the strikers and these railway officials, representing the greatest interests that were at stake.

Rumors of the ending, or "weakening of the strike" on the Morris & Essex Road crept through the community; and the passing and repassing of committees between the headquarters of the Brotherhood and the railway officials in the city were watched with intense interest. But the day passed without definite signs, and night came, filled with reports of mysterious gatherings in the "Patches" in the outskirts, and with exaggerated threats of pillage and violence.

The young men watched in the "Company's Store," and whiled away the hours of the night fixing ammunition into cartridges or burnishing rusty guns. James Ruthven and his assistants came down through the Notch after midnight with a wagon-load of arms gathered up in the Abington District, which were in no condition for use; and these young men organized a shop, and became skilled workers in metal in a few hours; and the dawn brought the three venturesome Williams, with their three hundred rounds of fixed ammunition.

The passing out and in of this brave little guard, and the

glitter of the Remington breech-loaders, it was supposed, made a salutary impression upon the prowlers that crept up among the ore-piles across the street from the store, and led to a present abandonment of the scheme of plunder, of which warning had been given. The morning dawned upon the isolated city, only to bring new omens of evil and of good to perplex and burden the helpless community.

On the 28th word came to Superintendent Storrs that the miners demanded that the pumps should be stopped at the mines. The engineers having charge had promptly left the pumps at the time the strike was ordered, and their places had been filled by bosses, clerks and surveyors, all volunteers, who were entirely unconnected with the miners' associations. These substitutes were informed by the miners, that they would have to run these engines at the risk of their lives, as it was determined by the strikers to leave the mines to be flooded.

This would bring immeasurable ruin upon the whole industry, and leave the miners themselves without hope of employment for at least a year to come. Mr. Storrs immediately appealed to the mayor for protection, and he called his advisory committee together; but nothing definite was undertaken. The mayor's volunteer policemen were recognized, only to be denounced by the mass-meeting at the Round Woods, where, at least, five thousand strikers were gathered; and there was nowhere in the valley a reliable militia, sufficient to warrant an attempt to guard these pumps. But, through the Mayor and Superintendent Storrs, better counsels were secured from the committee of the miners. This committee, after consultation with the mayor, issued their orders to prevent this lawless disaster. The rumored weakening of the Railway Brotherhood, perhaps, helped them to this conclusion, and the pumping was allowed to go on in most of the mines.

There were a few signs of violence in and about the city

during the day, but generally great quiet prevailed. Strange faces appeared in the streets, and men without business gathered in the outskirts. An attempt was made to set fire to the store of Alexander Connell, near the breaker at the Connell mines, in the evening; and acts of violence at different points in the valley were reported. But the day closed with the same dull monotony of burden and anxiety. The week ended with no sign of relief, by the coming of troops to preserve order; nor were there any tangible evidences of the resumption of work by the trainmen and engineers.

Mr. Samuel H. Stevens succeeded in securing Kiefer's Hall, at the corner of Penn Avenue and Mulberry street, for one night, at a rental of five dollars, for the use of the Citizens' Company; and on Saturday night the members of the Company secretly gathered into it for a drill. This hall was in the third story of the building; and having stationed a guard at the entrance, the lights were turned down to avoid exciting observation, and the young men assembled. Here this chaos of military effort was partially reduced to order. The young men took off their shoes to avoid noise, and were placed in the ranks in their stocking feet. Neither the Captain nor his Lieutenants were at all acquainted with the tactics then in use. They therefore went into the ranks with the men; and the Orderly-Sergeant, Daniel Bartholomew, who had served in the cavalry through the civil war, undertook the work. Assuming them all to be mounted, he soon taught them to march by fours to the right and left; and becoming inspired with the touch of their elbows, they soon gathered courage and felt strong. They marched and countermarched, and shook the building, until fears were excited lest it might fall, and difficulties seemed to accumulate. The hall was not far from the Pine Brook Breaker, where one of the most dangerous elements of the striking population was supposed to be found. A crowd gathered about the building as the

drill went on, and sought to uncover the secret work going on upstairs, but found no light. Late at night the young men quietly dispersed, maintaining an absolute silence as they passed among the crowd, a portion of them going to the Company's store to watch with Mr. Scranton's forces. From these Mr. Scranton learned of the existence of Captain Ripple's Company, and of its inability to secure a safe place for drill; and he immediately sent Captain Ripple a cordial invitation to rendezvous his Company at the store, and use the upper story of the building for that purpose. Sabbath evening, July 29th, found this Company quietly gathered in these comfortable quarters. Here they drilled, made cartridges, repaired guns, and reduced their watch to military order.

The Christian people gathered to the worship of their sanctuaries, on this Sabbath morning, with heavy hearts and gloomy forebodings, which doubtless were aggravated by the fact that so many of the churches were deprived of the services of their pastors, who were away on their vacations, without the ability either to return, or communicate with their people. The whole city seemed to be put back to the life before railways and factories had been built. The city papers established a pony-express to carry the news to neighboring towns; and the streets of Scranton were surprised by the entrance of the Wilkes-Barre stage coach; but the records do not show whether it brought with it the ancient tin horn, or came without announcement.

The price of merchandise began to advance, and the strikers had met on Friday morning, when they gave notice to all merchants, that if any of them dared to raise their prices on goods of any kind, their names should at once be published, and they be held up to everlasting infamy. This warning, as published on Saturday, July 28th, was as follows, to wit:

"Resolved, That we, the working-men of Scranton, do most earnestly appeal to the magnanimity and manhood of our merchants in these most

trying times ; and we hope that they will not still further add more misery to our cause by advancing the prices of the necessities of life.

"Be it further resolved, That if our merchants should persist in advancing their prices, that we will hold a public meeting, and openly and publicly denounce their conduct, and shall expose them to the scorn and contempt of mankind throughout the world."

Such a fusilade and pronunciamiento in the face of the laws of trade and the first principles of Christian civilization and government, under ordinary circumstances, could only have suggested to the average citizen that plucky cow that undertook to square accounts with the blustering locomotive, and saved her reputation for courage at the expense of her judgment. But in the city of Scranton, cut off from all help, and without even sufficient public courage to ask for troops to put down lawlessness, it suggested not even a hint of laughter. It simply uncovered the broad way that leads to anarchy. It showed to all thinking men the horrible volcano over whose thin crust all public interests of the city were suspended.

On Monday morning, July 30th, the engineers and pumpmen of Hyde Park published a denial of the truth of the charge, that intimidation had been used to stop the pumps at the mines, and expressed their belief that the corporations and companies whose property was at stake, were themselves striving to stir up riot and violence. What reasons led to such persuasion as this, these pretended preservers of the public peace have not left on record.

The 30th of July was marked by a general quiet in the streets, and signs of peace seemed to be discovered with more or less distinctness by the great body of citizens. The strikers of all classes had behaved themselves with sobriety and quietness. Save for the intemperate action of some of their meetings, and the incendiary torch, applied most probably by those who found no countenance from the workmen's associations ; the citizens would have felt themselves to be safe in their homes.



There was a sharp division of opinion among the people generally as to the real dangers which beset the city. The mayor had remained on duty at his office day and night, from the day the strike began. He had succeeded, as he thought, in convincing the miners that he was their friend; and secured from their committees ultimate propositions with which he could approach the companies on their behalf. Rumors of weakening of the Brotherhood's strike on the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, and the Delaware and Hudson roads, quietly gained definiteness and strength, throughout the whole Sabbath, while no sign of its truth could actually be discerned. The Pennsylvania Company, whose employes had refused to join the strike, kept their cars on the move up to Saturday night, when a little after midnight, the watchman at No. 5 Head House was seized by a band of disguised men, who burned the house in his presence. This compelled cessation of the whole work of this company, as the destruction of the engine at one of the planes of the gravity road stopped the transportation of coal along the whole route. This wicked destruction of the head house, with its stationary engine, convinced both citizens and railway men, that whatever honest protestations the strikers might make, the lawless element was abroad. The promise of the strikers to keep the peace and maintain the supremacy of law, however honest, could only mean that the stream should flow peacefully as long as no obstruction to its flow should be found. If perchance a rock should persist in remaining in the way, it must become responsible for the noise, the rampage and the destruction wrought by the obstructed waters. This was the interpretation which Mr. W. W. Scranton, with his watchers, and Captain Ripple, with his company of citizens, put upon these honest protestations of the strikers from the mills and mines.

Captain Ripple felt a constant burden of anxiety, fearing a mob might be precipitated upon the city by his company mis-



taking a peaceful movement of the laborers for a hostile intention. He worked night and day to impress discipline and self-control upon his men. He reported his company to the Mayor, and obtained his verbal recognition of them as special police, on the morning of the 30th, and kept one member on watch at the office, although the mayor thought there would be no need for him. Mr. Scranton with his trusted associates, went everywhere, with boldness on his part, and quiet wisdom on theirs, having an eye upon the multitude of strangers, and a few men who were known to them as dangerous characters. So the work of drilling and watching went on, while order generally reigned in the city.

At eleven o'clock on Monday, the 30th, the committee of the Brotherhood met the Mayor at his request. After an earnest conference, they agreed to call a meeting of the railway strikers at once, and put up their notice about noon as follows, to wit :

"A special meeting of the railroad men, at Washington Hall, this afternoon at one o'clock sharp. By order of Executive Committee."

The firemen and brakemen gathered at the hour appointed in large numbers, and the question was submitted to an orderly vote, whether they should return to work at the old wages, upon assurance that none should be dismissed for his connection with this strike. This question was decided affirmatively, with only nine negative votes, and the men immediately proceeded in a body to Superintendent Hallstead's office and announced their conclusion. The Superintendent received them graciously, and gave them all the assurances they asked for. Fifteen minutes afterwards the smoke of the engines, awakened from their dead sleep of eight days, began to glorify the coal-yards; and ten minutes past four o'clock P. M. the first train started on its way for Northumberland. Telegram orders were sent to Binghamton to start the mail train for New

York; and so the long silence of the railway was broken. The locomotives began to pull their great burdens up the heavy grades in the early evening, and puffed forth a music which echoed as a blessed lullaby in the homes of the people.

The relief was as inexpressible as it was immediate. Citizens who had remained at home through the hot week watching, devoted to their public duties, while their families were away at the seashore, gathered up their gripsacks ready to take the first train of the morning. The telegraph wires were kept busy all night with messages of assurance from wives to their husbands, who had been caught away from home, and had spent their wits and patience in their vain efforts to return. They were told that all was going right again; that the fisherman might go on with his fishing, and the bather with his bathing. Even the Mayor's advisory committee disbanded and went their ways—one to his work and another to the pleasures of his summer vacation.

But that night a band of thieves made a raid upon the Stowers' Packing House, in the northern part of the city. These robbers carried away at least a ton of meat, and a large number of boxes of lemons. At the same hour a field of potatoes, belonging to the Iron and Coal Company, was invaded, and the potatoes were entirely removed. Thus it occurred to the law-loving citizens, as they awoke from their first peaceful sleep on the 31st of July, to read of such depredations, that although the railway troubles might be over, the strikes were not ended, and the safety of the city had not been entirely secured.

Captain Ripple, not yet satisfied with the legal status of his company, if violence should be attempted, consulted Colonel Hitchcock as an attorney, as well as a military adviser, on the subject. They concluded that the mere verbal acceptance of the Citizens' Corps as special police might leave the boys in questionable positions towards the law, if the Mayor should

himself become intimidated, or should meet with fatal violence. They therefore went to the Mayor, and secured his official signature to a paper which authorized the Citizens' Company, individually, and as a body, to act in emergency as "Special Police" under his authority.

Throughout the last day of July, his honor, Mayor McKune, remained on duty, and in consultation with a committee of miners, seeking for a basis of compromise upon which they might end their strike. He called to his assistance the Hon. John Brisbin of New York, who that day manifested his great powers, and excellent wisdom. His fairness gave him great influence with the miners, and his persuasive powers were irresistible. Late in the afternoon he succeeded in reaching an agreement with them. This committee, he, with the Mayor, accompanied to the Superintendent's office, and in the course of an hour received assurances from the headquarters in New York that the proposed compromise would be accepted. The committee of the miners cordially shook hands with the Superintendent, and assured the Mayor, that while they could not complete the arrangement without the consent of the miners, whom they represented, they should call a meeting, as soon as it could be done with safety, and demand action. They had no doubt of a favorable answer, as the way for the redressing of their grievances was provided in their basis. All that had been asked for had been granted, except the increase of wages, which all knew could not be granted. So they went their way apparently sincere and happy, and the Mayor congratulated himself and his friends on his vision of the early ending of the miners' strike.

Meanwhile Mr. Scranton's manly letter to the workers of the mills, who had yielded only to the pressure, and ceased work, as they claimed, contrary to their judgment and wishes, had produced its fruits. The assurance of protection from him they could trust, and at noon on the 31st, they fired up

some of the furnaces and a number of the men began work. A few also returned to the railway shops, and the signs of a general resumption multiplied on all sides. During the afternoon and evening there was a strange and ominous vanishing of the crowds and loiterers that for a week had filled the streets. The unknown population which for many days had walked about in an aimless way, and had looked through the stores and places of business, seemed to have retired, and indeed to have quite deserted the city. Save for the continuance of the Mayor at his office, with his few policemen on duty, and the young men on watch at the company's store, the whole city seemed to have regained its confidence and retired to rest.

The scattered citizens in the wilderness, and at the seashore, assured by the report of the signs of resumption, and of rapidly returning peace, gave themselves up to the full enjoyment of their midsummer vacation. The business men of New York, whose interests were at Scranton, assured by President Thomas Dickson and his associates that the strike had virtually ended, felt no further concern. The night passed in the city with the profoundest quiet in the streets, and peace in the homes of the people; all glorified by the light of a full orbéd moon.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE MOB AND ITS TRUE MASTER.

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends,  
Rough-hew them how we will."

AUGUST 1, 1877.

THE 1st day of August dawned full of hope and auguries of peace. It was indeed learned that the running of trains on the Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Division had been interrupted; but the blockade had been made by men thirty or forty miles away, who were supposed to find no sympathy from the workmen of the Lackawanna Valley. Besides, the trains to the north and south were running on schedule time; and except for a few stones cast at them outside of the city, there were no indications from the strikers of a discontent with the surrender of the railway operatives.

The railway officials from abroad, and their counsellors in the city, well satisfied with the success of their mission, left in the early morning train. The Mayor and the Hon. John Brisbin openly spread the news of the end of the "miners' and laborers' strike," as already in sight; and the business houses all opened their doors, and the streets hung out their banners of life.

Captain Ripple drew a long breath as he looked down the business avenues and caught glimpses of his brave young men of the Citizens' Company, rushing here and there to gather up the thread of business, which had been so suddenly dropped a week before in order to provide for the public safety. For

a whole week he had not darkened the door of his office, nor heard a word of its needs and responsibilities. Although that office was a mile and a half from the headquarters of his company, which had not yet felt itself justified in disbanding, he concluded himself free to go to his neglected trust. Hence, leaving strict orders to the young men having charge of the signal-bell, he went to the Connell mines, and in a few minutes became wholly absorbed in the work of his office. He knew his Lieutenants were at hand, and trusted his sharp ears to catch the call of the signal if trouble should arise.

Mr. Scranton, with his associates, Charles F. Mattes, Wm. W. Manness, Charles F. Manness, Carl W. McKinney and Theodore G. Wolf, having already persuaded a number of their workmen to return to the mills, were busy setting things in order, with the conviction, that by another day the whole body of their workmen would return. A number of those employed in the machine shops, the foundries, the saw-mill, and the blast furnaces, had already reported for duty and begun their work. The citizens generally, feeling a relief from the strain of apprehension, went to their places of business fused with new energy from the strange experiences of the week just passed. A cloudless sun poured down his effulgence upon the new life of the city, and the omens of peace multiplied on all sides. The conviction seemed general that the dangers of the strike were all passed. Mr. Scranton, however, who had slept only by snatches since the strike began, relaxed none of his vigilance for all these promises of resumption. He had no faith in compromises with strikers; and it was supposed that he would rather have preferred a trial of strength with the law-breakers, if troops, which could be relied upon, had been furnished by the State. He did not believe the end of the miners' strike could, or ought to be expected, without a show of power on the part of the Companies. Hence while the city became jubilant over the news spread by the Mayor, and railway officials,



who had closed their conference and gone; he sat down and wrote a letter to President Hatfield, in New York, in which he expressed his convictions with sharpness and emphasis. Among other things, he wrote on the evening of July 31st as follows: "I trust when the troops come,—if they ever get here,—that we may have a conflict, in which the mob shall be completely worsted. In no other way will the thing end with any security for property here in the future. Our Iron Company foremen have acted well throughout, and I am proud of them. *It was a ticklish time*, and it is not yet over in my opinion." So thought the General Manager of the L. I. & C. Company on the night when the great body of citizens had retired in peace, believing another day would end the troubles and set the suspended industries in motion. With his courage and convictions he proposed to keep his powder dry. The young men of the Citizens' Corps generally agreed with him, and made their detail for guard duty as full as on any night since the strike began; and this detail proved just as watchful as though no rumors of the end of the strikes had come to them.

About a mile to the south-east of the line of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western railway shops, and almost in a direct line with the extension of Madison Avenue, there rises a small conical hill, near to the margin of the Lackawanna river. The slope of the ground from this hill, both towards the city and the river, was gentle and regular. The whole hill, at that time, was surrounded by an open grassy level, of from ten to twenty acres. A hundred yards, or less, to the north of it stood the first silk factory erected in the city; and a quarter of a mile to the west was the breaker of the Connell mines, with its "Patch" of surrounding buildings, occupied chiefly by the miners and laborers connected with these mines. The whole space between this hill and the Iron Mills and machine shops built along the Roaring Brook, was open and visible from the

second floors of most of the houses on the south side of Lackawanna Avenue. Indeed there was scarcely a point along the railway from the Company's Store to the railway Station where an observer could not have a view of this open space, with its beautiful little hill.

In the morning, about eight o'clock, on the first day of August, men became visible, coming from the south, the east and the west, on converging lines, whose point of intersection was somewhere in this open space. They came singly, in pairs and in squads. They came in crowds of fifty, and a hundred, along all the paths across the woods and meadows. Before nine o'clock the little hill was covered, and from the railway, appeared black with people. Merchants and professional men on the south side of the avenue early had their attention directed to this remarkable gathering. They watched, surmised and wondered. A crowd of interested spectators gathered upon the railway embankment; and silent observation with field glasses went on from the upper stories of most of the houses, on the south side of Lackawanna Avenue. The multitude gathered was variously estimated at from three to eight thousand people; who seemed to be crowding together in consultation, until the whole hill appeared as if shingled over with a black mass of fused humanity. The watchers stated, that through their field glasses, the crowd seemed to be orderly, and yet swayed by some intense excitement.

Whether this crowd was organized by its leaders, and a chairman appointed, does not clearly appear, as all who were afterwards charged with presiding denied it. How the consultations or deliberations of the mass meeting began cannot be now determined, but they continued for about the space of two hours. What were the particular subjects of discussion can never now be positively known. A reporter of one of the papers of the city appeared among them, supposing it to be an orderly meeting, but as soon as he was known to be a

reporter, he was hustled and insulted, and escaped with a few bruises, glad to find a calmer atmosphere in which to recover his breath without any broken bones.

The special grievance which called the meeting of these workmen and tramps, would seem to have been the waning strength of the strike. The open yielding of the engineers and stokers, and the evident signs of the resumption of work at the mills and shops, could not be misunderstood. Doubtless the rumors of the proposal of the miners' committee to resume work on the terms secured from the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Company, through Mr. Brisbin and the Mayor, had much to do in inaugurating this council; and the promiscuous gathering of this nondescript mass meeting. It would seem to have been called by none of the respectable "committees" of either the miners or workers in the mills. From all that can be learned of either the origin or intentions of the meeting, it is evident that very few, if any, of the respectable miners of Hyde Park had anything to do with either its counsels or its ultimate intentions. The respectable committee with whom the mayor had treated, publicly disavowed any knowledge or complicity with it. They denied that it was even a meeting of miners. If the meeting which they had promised had been called by them, they said, it would have been called at "the Round Woods," where they, by the agreement of the miners, held all their meetings. It is, perhaps, due to the Miners' Association to record the fact, that from the very beginning they disowned all affiliation with the lawless element, which their strike seemed to gather about them. The only fact which at all casts a shadow upon this organization is, that they appointed a committee to prosecute those who fired upon the mob some days afterwards. Yet this might have grown entirely out of the passions and suspicions gendered by the fury enkindled after the fatal collision of the mob with the city's defenders.

The grievance which seemed to have caused the greatest passion was the returning to work of the men who had never favored the strike, and who had yielded to it only because they deemed it necessary to their safety. This intimidation reached out to all kinds of labor, and laborers, connected with the great companies. Even the men engaged in the effort to save the hay cut on the fields of the Iron and Coal Company had been treated with violence and driven from their work three days before. The teamsters and farm laborers were ordered to cease all work until the strike should end. The return of the braver of these men to the mills, under assurance from Mr. Scranton of protection, seemed to exasperate the more ignorant and give the power of passion into the hands of the vicious. These workmen, who had returned to their places, were called "black-legs" and "scallawags;" and were pelted, at long range, with the crooked rhetoric of the speakers who addressed the vast crowd near the silk-factory. For fully two hours the firing up of this great engine of lawless violence in the crowd went on. For two whole hours, or more, the more sensible and conservative men, who found themselves in these counsels, withstood the dangerous proposals. Thus passion swayed the crowd back and forth, as the increasing wind passes over the wheat to bend and sway it before the breaking of the storm.

At last some miscreant, with all the marks of the premeditative scoundrel, wise to discern his opportunity, arose and read a forged letter. To whom this letter might be addressed no one waited to inquire; it was said to be signed with the name of W. W. Scranton. This letter, it is enough to say, was simply a piece of vulgar brutality, lacking every characteristic of the purported author, unless, perchance, its spirit of boldness and open defiance. It asserted, among other absurdities, that he intended to bring the wages of the workingmen down to thirty-five cents a day, and to make them work if it

put his body under a culm pile. It contained all the bluster of the stupid coward, which any workman of the valley might readily have known could not have come from such a man as Mr. Scranton was known to be.

But passion had risen to the heat that blinds, and the barrier of the thinking men was at once overwhelmed. The storm which had been gathering for more than two hours burst at once, with a violence that threatened the sweeping of the whole city with destruction. A shout was raised: "Go for the shops" and "clean out the black-legs;" and immediately the crowd began to move. Some, indeed, began to separate and to scatter; but the great mass moved in two dense streams, like the lava from a volcanic eruption. One stream swept on towards the blast-furnaces of the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, on Roaring Brook; and the other towards the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western shops, on Washington Avenue. It was at once revealed, through the telescopes of the watchers all along the avenue, that these crowds were armed with clubs, which were shaken in the fury of violence. It was afterwards learned that a store down the valley had been robbed by men on their way to this meeting, showing that, at least, some of them had come prepared for mischief.

Meanwhile the Mayor, who early learned of the gathering crowd near the silk-mill, gave himself no anxiety, supposing it to be simply a meeting of the miners, which their accredited committee had promised to call at the earliest safe opportunity, to confirm the agreement they had made with the railway authorities. To all excited fears and reported signs of violence expressed by the people, he made the confident answer: "There can be no cause for apprehension, gentlemen; that meeting, I doubt not, is held by order of the miners' committee, and I have no doubt of its orderly intentions." About 10 o'clock Arthur C. Logan, a law student, having



gone in the neighborhood of this mass meeting, called by business, when near enough to see the excitement of the crowd, was afraid to go farther. Returning speedily, he reported to the mayor the danger which he supposed was then to be apprehended. He was ordered by the mayor to take his place as a signal man appointed by his company, and wait near the bell for the orders of his officers to sound the alarm agreed upon, to call his company together. He immediately awoke his brother, who, with himself, had been on watch all night, and proceeded to obey the Mayor's directions. But the report of the size, and strange movements of the crowd, a full mile away, rapidly spread along the business avenues and to the homes of the city. A feeling of dread and uneasiness, as well as of excited curiosity, gathered the people along the railway embankment, and led business men hurriedly to lock their safes, close their doors, and look about them for refuge from danger.

Melvin I. Corbett, at that time a clerk in the D. L. & W. coal department, having been stationed by Mr. Storrs in the observatory of the station, with a field-glass, to watch for the movement of the miners, reported a gathering of men near the "round woods," which had suddenly broken up and gone over to the crowd near the silk-mill. Also that there were signs of immense excitement. He was sent at once to the mayor with a warning, from Mr. Storrs, of danger to be apprehended. He made his report and was directed by the mayor to go to the company's store; where, he said, he should order the citizens' police to assemble. Corbett, arming himself with a rifle which belonged to the D. L. & W. Company, reported for duty as the mayor directed, and bravely fulfilled his duty in the firing squad before returning to his employer.

The sudden breaking up of the mass meeting also startled Mr. Kingsbury, at the company's store, where its movements were plainly visible and had been carefully watched; and about the time the young men had taken their position as directed



by the mayor, he sent a request to them, to sound the alarm and call the "Citizens' Corps" together. These young men having strict orders to strike the alarm only upon order of an officer of the corps, declined to accede to Mr. Kingsbury's request. One of them took his place, as ordered, to watch at the church gate, while the other ran down the avenue searching for an officer from whom an order might be had to strike the signal. He soon learned that Captain Ripple was at his office and could not be reached. He went to the office of Lieutenant Merriam, but could not find him; then to that of Second Lieutenant Brown, and was equally unsuccessful. Running to the railway he saw the crowd coming with fury. He again ran along the avenue, notifying such members of the company as he could find, to report at the headquarters on double quick. At the same time, as it was afterwards learned, Lieutenant Merriam had passed in through the back way into the parsonage in search for these young men to give them the orders to strike the bell. He passed through every room in the house, knowing that the young men had been on watch the night before, and supposing he would find them in bed. He found no one in the house, which he seems to have continued searching until the mob had swept into the Avenue, and the force to meet it was already on the march. The crowd of excited spectators increased on the streets, and on the railway, and teams with wagons and carriages blocked the intersection of the avenues. Colonel Hitchcock, with the eye of a veteran, had watched the coming crowd until satisfied of its violent intentions, then hurried to the Mayor, and obtaining his consent to call the special police together at the company's store to await orders; he immediately began giving the same notice to such members of the citizens' company as he could find, that young Logan had begun to circulate before him.

Mr. Scranton having received notice when at the First Na-

tional Bank, that the mob was moving towards the mills, and was already driving workmen from the shops, drove furiously to the store; and, in the apparent absence of all the officers of the gathering citizens' corps, with the impulse and energy of a leader, where there is danger, he sent an order to the signal men on duty to sound the alarm, and called upon the young men who were on the second floor to fall into line with their guns. At that moment, the mob having driven the workmen from the foundry, was busy with the same bloody work at the grist-mill, and blast furnaces, only a few rods away. Shortly after Mr. Scranton's order to strike the signal came to hand, Lieutenant Brown was discovered by the elder of the signal men on the avenue near the business house of Doud Bros. Despairing of success in his search for the officer to obtain permission to strike the bell, the young man had started to join the little company already in the street in front of the company's store, leaving his brother to strike the bell if legitimate orders should come. Brown stopped him, and sent him back with the emphatic order to stand in front of the church-gate to await orders, and by no means to strike the bell until he should receive the signal from him. He immediately obeyed; so these young men, in the midst of the excitement, took their positions to watch and wait, the one beside the bell rope, with drawn pistol covering the space where his brother waited, and the other at the church-gate in the midst of the angry crowd.

The little band of young men momentarily increased; each rushing to where he had left his gun, either on the second or third floor of the building. Mr. Scranton made a characteristic speech to those gathered on the second floor, seeking to infuse them with his own courage and determination. He exhorted them to shoot low, and to shoot to kill if they shot at all. He told them where to aim and begged them to stand with him to the end, fearing nothing. The expecta-

tion then was that the mob would attack the store, as soon as they had cleared out the blast furnace, so near at hand. Mr. Scranton had not discerned the fact that there were two streams of this flux of lawless humanity. The onset upon his company's works was plainly discernible from the windows of the store, and he proposed to go out, without orders; and meet the mob just where he saw it doing its bloody work, and not allow it to reach the store. He asked the young man to follow him at once to the attack. But Colonel Hitchcock having arrived with the order of the mayor to await his orders, took position against Scranton's proposition as doubly dangerous, because going without legal authority they would be on the same footing with the mob, and be liable to prosecution as rioters. While this matter was being discussed and the company hesitating, a member of the mayor's police arrived, and announced the request of his honor to have the company report, armed for duty as special police, at his office without delay. The young men then fell immediately into line with their guns.

Meanwhile Daniel Bartholomew, the First Sergeant of the Citizens' Corps, had been on watch on top of the building for more than an hour. When he saw the lines of the dispersion of the great crowd, near the silk-mill, he at once apprehended the design of the mob; and he came down and began to form the members of the Citizens' Corps in line on the third floor, with such others as came to that floor for their guns. His intention was simply to have the men ready for action as soon as a line officer should arrive to take the command. He was entirely ignorant of what Mr. Scranton was doing on the floor below. Upon the arrival of the policemen from the Mayor with the request to bring the men to his office, he marched his squad down stairs and surprised Scranton, who supposed himself alone with the men, who had placed themselves under arms. He approached the sergeant, with whom

he had no personal acquaintance, and asked him who he might be, and what he proposed to do. Bartholomew answered that he was the highest officer of the Citizens' Corps that had yet appeared for duty; and that he proposed to command the company until his superior officer should arrive. While this parley was proceeding, Deputy Sheriff Bortree, a veteran of well known courage and experience, came to Mr. Scranton and said to him: "The danger to this company is going to be found at the two ends of the column on the march. Mr. Scranton, if you will take one end I will take the other, and we can hold the boys steady. You can take choice of the ends." Scranton, without further words, took his place, alone, at the head of the column. Bortree selected Carl W. McKinney, whose courage was well known in the city, and with him closed the line for the protection of the rear. Thus Sergeant Bartholomew, being the ranking officer of the Citizens' Corps, took command of this mixed company, so hastily called into line. There were in this column of twos, all told, just fifty young men. Twenty-four of them were enrolled members of "the Citizens' Corps," recognized by the Mayor as special police, in the paper given to Captain Ripple. Twenty-five were employees of the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, and one man had no connection with either organization. Four of those who belonged to, and drilled with, the "Citizens' Corps" were also in the service of the Iron and Coal Company.

They were all armed with breech-loading rifles, a part of which belonged to the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, and a part to the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company. Bartholomew faced the column down Lackawanna Avenue, in the middle of the street, and gave the order—"March!" There had been no time for adjusting positions, or deciding questions of precedence, or authority. Just as the column began to move William W. Paterson, who had

been on watch all night, awoke from his doze and came running, and having inspected the line its whole length, rushed to the front and took his position beside Scranton with the remark that the rear was all right, with Bortree and McKinney to take care of it. In double file, with regular step, these brave young men marched down through the middle of the street, towards the Mayor's office, followed by a portion of the mob that had come from the foundry and blast-furnaces. One of these lawless men, on mischief bent, more reckless than his fellows, carried a three-barreled pistol of antique pattern, which he fired three times at Bortree, who marched with his back to his comrades and his face to the foe. But the shots were all at too great a distance to do execution, and Colonel Hitchcock, acting as file closer, twice prevented Bortree from replying to the madman with his deadly rifle. Bortree had been through twenty battles, perhaps, and had never been known to waste much ammunition; or lose his courage in front of the muzzle of guns, either great or small.

This column was plainly in view, and ready to march, when Lieut. Brown ordered his signal man not to strike the alarm until he should give the sign. Thus the hastily gathered company marched down the street, into which the mob had begun to pour from the shops below. Each man with his trusty rifle had as many rounds of fixed ammunition as he saw fit to provide himself with, when he seized his gun. With some of them this amount would seem to have been measured by the number and capacity of their pockets.

It is evident that the majority of the young men expected no bloody encounter. They doubtless supposed the appearance of the squad, so well armed and under the Mayor's orders, would stop the movement of the mob, and disperse the lawless crowd, without further violence. One young man in the ranks marched with marked military step, a stub pipe in his mouth, and his small hat cocked upon the side of his head.



For at least half the way down he was absorbed with the conviction that the force of soldierly bearing was all that could be required, while along side of him marched a friend with uncertain limbs, and bloodless face, weighed down with cartridges, and convictions of a coming war. These two may be taken as a type of all that were in the ranks.

The whole formation had been so rapid that no attempt had been made to count off the company and prepare it for military movement, or manœuvre. In double file these young men marched down the avenue with the sergeant, gun in hand, in command, and sixth sergeant F. L. Hitchcock, at his request, acting as file closer and general lieutenant, both of whom were worthy veterans of the war. The names of these young men—a fragment of the legally recognized "Citizens' Corps"—hastily gathered and united with Mr. Scranton's force of such employees of the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company as were about the store at the time, who started to rescue the Mayor, and the City, from the hands of the thousands who were already busy with their bloody work in the mills and shops, were as follows: Daniel Bartholomew, first sergeant in command, Frederick L. Hitchcock, sixth sergeant, acting file closer, William Walter Scranton, James A. Linen, William W. Paterson, William F. Kiesel, Samuel H. Stevens, George F. Barnard, Charles E. Chittenden, John C. Highriter, Edward C. Mattes, John O. Stanton, Wm. D. Manness, C. S. Burr, F. Franschild, William Ringler, John Heinecke, John B. Cust, Carl W. McKinney, Lewis C. Bortree, Wharton Dickinson, M. D. Smith, Denning R. Haight, John Hoffman, George S. Throop, J. C. Highfield, William K. Logan, George H. Ives, George H. Maddocks, J. G. Leyshon, Charles H. Lindsay, Edward H. Lynde, H. C. Van Bergen, H. V. D. Roney, C. K. Swift, H. R. Madison, William Anderson, Edward J. Dimmick, Wm. H. Storrs, Edw. L. Fuller, Wm. McK. Miller, Curtis W. Doud, M. G. Moore, F. H. Wehrum, Rudolph Bensley, Melvin



I. Corbett, Enos T. Hall, Richard O. Manness, Arja Williams and William B. Henwood.

These young men were at the time, and always have been, recognized as deserving of all honor, for the promptness and courage with which they started upon their patriotic and dangerous enterprise, as well as for the efficiency and bravery with which they carried it through. But after events demonstrated the fact, that if the alarm signal had been sounded, even at the time Mr. Scranton requested to have it done, the greater part of the "Citizens' Company" would have marched with them, and been the rightful sharers of their honors and work. Possibly, too, the blood shed might have been prevented by the appearance of a so much larger military force prepared to enforce law and order.

Meanwhile his Honor, Mayor McKune, after issuing his orders consecutively to young Logan and to Corbett, and after his hasty interview with Col. Hitchcock, in which he consented to have the special police called together to await orders at the Company store; although entirely persuaded there was no danger to be apprehended from any evil intention on the part of the mass of men, said to be approaching the city; started up the street with a single policeman to investigate for himself. He stopped at the office of the Hon. John Handley, at that time the Additional Law Judge of Luzerne County, and asked him to accompany him to meet the crowd already approaching the shops. He was surprised to hear the Judge decline, with the emphatic declaration of his belief that it would be at the risk of the Mayor's life if he should attempt such an exposure. After vainly trying to convince the Judge, that, as a representative of the law, he ought to go with him, the Mayor left him in the grip of his fears, and his better judgment, and went into the street. From the door of the Judge's office he sent his policeman with orders to have the gathering company to report at his office, and so hastened on alone. He passed

through the crowd of silent watchers, going down Washington Avenue towards the shops, where the excitement seemed to be greatest. Just below the railway he met Mr. Needham, the one-armed time-keeper of the shops, pale and out of breath, who told him that Superintendent Robert McKenna wanted him immediately at his office, where there was trouble. The Mayor saw just before him the Rev. Father M. H. Dunn, a Roman Catholic priest, and thinking he might be helpful in quieting the excitement, took him by the arm and asked him to go with him. The priest promptly consented, and manifested great courage and manly fidelity in seeking to protect the Mayor, and stay the violence. They went together direct to McKenna's office. As they approached the windows of this office, they saw Mr. McKenna, white with excitement, holding his daughter, who was his telegrapher, in his arms, in a dead faint from fright. McKenna shouted to the Mayor to escape for his life. The Mayor immediately turned about and caught sight of the mob beating Mr. Harlon P. Little, superintendent of the lumber yard of the car shops; and chasing a workman out through the windows of the shops. He started towards them, lifting up his voice with the demand to keep the peace. He had not taken a dozen steps when he was overtaken by the furious crowd that seemed to come from every direction. The mob had finished its bloody work in the mills and shops, and was starting, as if by preconcerted determination, for Lackawanna Avenue, where the wealth of the city's merchandise was concentrated. The Mayor, trying to face the crowd, shouted to those in front to stand back. The priest earnestly joined him in his exhortations and remonstrance. He ordered those in front to hold up the clubs with which they were armed, and keep back the crowd from rushing upon his Honor the Mayor. For a moment the front rank obeyed him, and the rush seemed to be checked. But a large and determined man, who had already made himself conspicuous as a leader

of the mob, whose linen duster had attracted the attention of a large number of spectators, as well as victims of his brutality, pushed to the front and cried, "Who is this stopping the people?" Some answered, "It is the priest," "Father Dunn," and some, "It is the Mayor." He immediately shouted, "Kill him!" using a profane epithet which at once revealed his murderous passion and his breeding. The Mayor had already been struck on the head and shoulder, as he thought, either accidentally, or by some one who did not recognize him. But immediately after the crowd had been called upon to kill the Mayor, and the Mayor had turned to go towards the Avenue, this bloody leader, with conspicuous garment, rushed forward and struck his Honor, either with his fist or with a weapon in his left hand, a blow which fractured his jaw. Under this blow he staggered, when a second blow fell, which brought him down, pulling the priest with him. By the shouts of the priest, the crowd was checked long enough for the Mayor to regain his feet, when the priest was separated from him, taken up bodily by his friends, and carried up to Lackawanna Avenue. The Mayor, with blood flowing from his mouth and the wounds on his head, and in a dazed condition, was hustled forward by the rushing crowd, and reached the crossing of Lackawanna and Washington Avenues just as the head of the marching column of the armed citizens struck that crossing. Mr. Scranton, in the first rank, seeing the Mayor in his dazed condition, took him by the arm and moved him along with the march towards his office, whither the Company was going to report to his Honor for duty.

When the Company, with their steady tramp, and their guns flashing in the noontide sunlight, approached the outskirts of the rushing crowd, for a moment the mass nearest to them halted, then divided, and allowed the column to march on, until the rear of the Company had passed about three military paces beyond the Lackawanna Avenue crossing, on the west

side of Washington Avenue. Then the mob rapidly closed about them, with shouts of "Kill them!" "Take their guns!" "Shoot the rascals!" The column deflected somewhat to the left, and then halted without orders, from the pressure of the crowd, diagonally across the street-car track in the middle of the street.

Lewis C. Bortree, marching in the rear rank, was a tall young man, of tried courage, who was known to many of this raging mass as an unflinching officer of the peace. Knowing his danger, he had marched with his shoulder touching his comrade, and his face to the rear the last half of the way. Attempts were made both to shoot him and to seize his gun. He gave a clear warning to the more venturesome men of the mob to stand back, and while yet he was speaking he was struck with a club. At the same moment, the ruffian who had struck the Mayor rushed forward and attempted to snatch the gun from the hands of Edward J. Dimmick, who marched near the rear of the column.

This seemed to be the signal to the whole mob, and pistols began to be fired. The air was suddenly filled with stones, clubs, and weapons of all sorts, which seemed to come from all sides at once. Mr. J. G. Leyshon was struck and knocked down; Carl W. McKinney received a pistol ball in his leg, and Charles E. Chittenden one through the sleeve of his coat. But the young men stood like veterans under this fearful fusillade.

The mob closed in upon the rear, and the two sides of the company with a rush. Almost opposite, as it halted, to the front of the column, and on the south side of the street was a vacant lot filled with stones, from which attack might readily be made from behind the buildings, and where such ammunition as a mob requires could be readily found. Stones began to come from this lot. Three men at the front of the column immediately gave themselves to a vigilant watch of

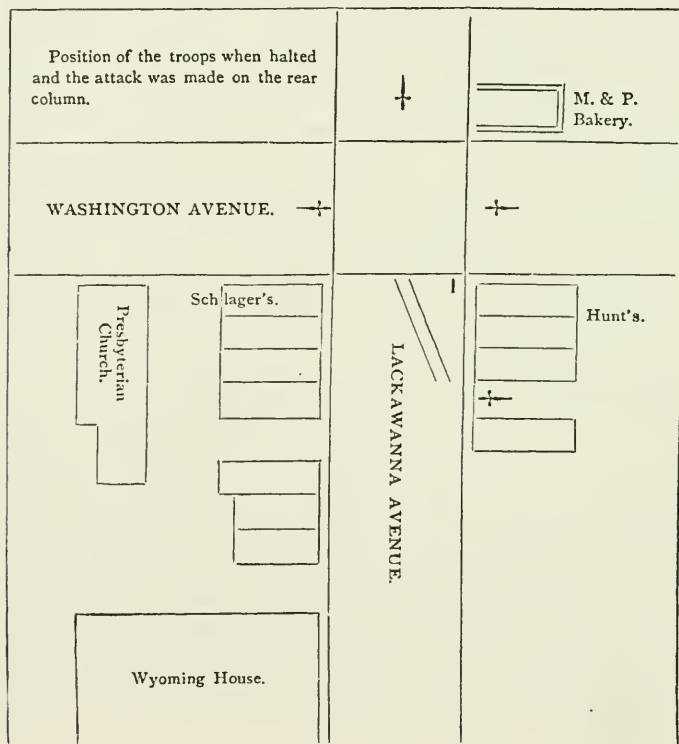
this open space, and of the building that stood next to it. Throughout the battle they stood unswervingly to this duty. They could have been seen raising their guns with deliberate aim, and as deliberately lowering them again. Neither of them fired a shot, because they would not shoot until they were certain of their enemy; and the worthy citizens were abundant all about them. These men were Samuel H. Stevens, James A. Linen and Charles H. Lindsay, all veteran soldiers of the war.

When the column halted, and the attack upon it began, Mr. Scranton, who had led the bleeding Mayor with him, lost sight of him; and he seems to have left the ranks, and at length found himself upon the sidewalk opposite this open lot, slowly recovering his senses, which had been severely shaken by the blows he had suffered. Seeing the attack at the rear, and the stones flying from the open lot, and hearing the crack of the pistol shots, the Mayor threw up his hands, waved a bloody kerchief with which he had wiped his face, and shouted, "Fire, boys!" He then began to move up the sidewalk, and into the street, in the very line where there was the most danger from the firing he had ordered. It was only by that invisible power whose wisdom and mercy shields the helpless, that he could escape death in a space across whose lines fifty bullets sped on their errands in less than three minutes. Whether the soldiers, or their sergeant, heard the command of the Mayor is more than doubtful. The men at the rear of the column, finding no alternative left them, opened fire as by a single impulse just after Mr. Leyshon was struck with a stone. Immediately after the report of the first musket was heard the whole column fired, some with their guns leveled to the shoulder, their eyes on the sights, and some with the muzzles up in the air, by which they endangered their comrades more than their foes. Upon the first volley the man with the marked duster fell, with the top of his head blown off, and the mob began at once to disperse. About

three full and irregular volleys were fired, with deadly intent. Some of the men might have been seen on one knee, to secure more certain aim, some of them moving the muzzle of the gun about as a huntsman who shoots on the wing, and some stepping out of the line to get a sight around the corner. One tall youth, whom no one ever thought of as a soldier, was observed to smile, most benignly, after deliberately firing each shot as if he had done satisfactory work, and had discerned it through the smoke of battle.

*The following diagrams will show the position of the column when halted by the crowd, and when the attack was made upon them. Then the position assumed when the firing began by the soldiers, and that in which they found themselves when ordered to cease firing.*

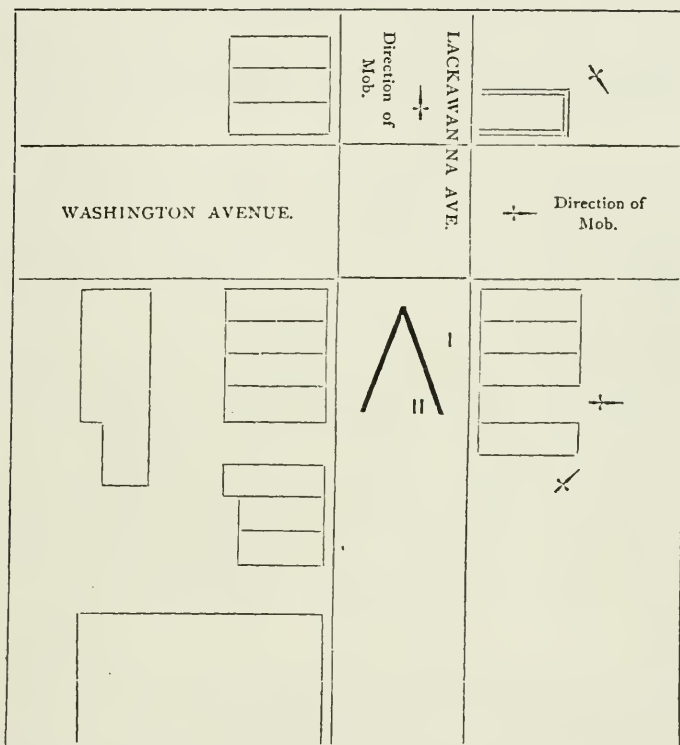
NO. 1.





## NO. 2.

The general position assumed by the column without orders, as the result of those along the lines attempting to see what was being done at the rear of the column when the attack began :

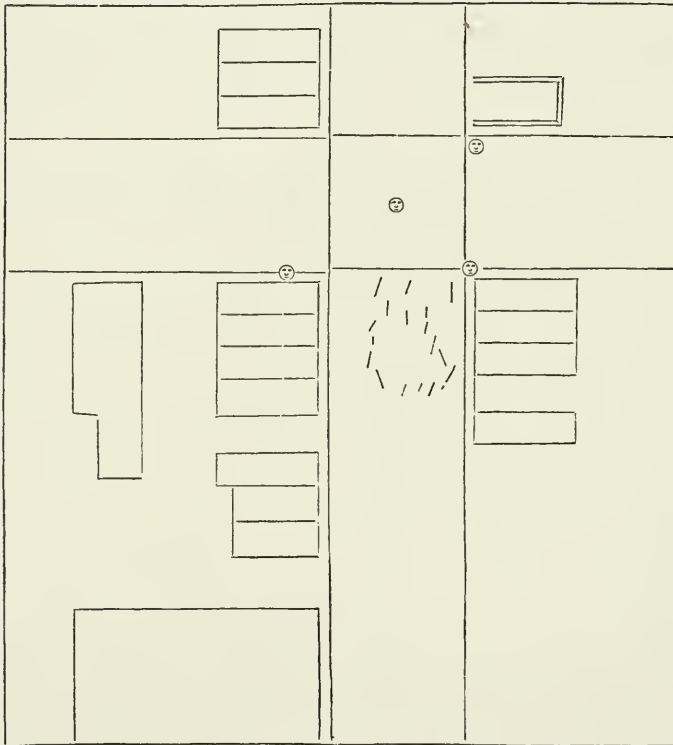


When the first man of the mob fell, the panic began to seize the crowd of thousands that had come bent upon mischief. A stampede began at once, led by those who had come simply to see, and very soon the fugitives went in every direction, without any stay upon the order of their going. Some crowded into hall-ways along the avenue, and up the stairs ; some hurried

away with the wounded, using every effort to hide their wounds. Pell-mell, helter-skelter, tumbling over each other and running on all fours, until they could find time to recover their feet, they ran crazed with fear. Some were seen at full speed more than two miles from the point of collision. In three minutes the whole street was cleared.

## NO. 3.

General position of the column at the close of the battle.



⊕ Represents position of bodies.

One tall man, who had been surprised while firing his pistol, by having his hat shot from his head, lifted his feet conspicu-

ously behind him, and was seen rushing up the street with his pistol held at arms length in the air, too thoroughly frightened to recall his "present arms," even when it would have helped his flight. The running stream of humanity could be discerned down the valley, up the valley, across the river, and over the hills. On every street the people in their homes, entirely ignorant of the mob, or of the citizens' collision with it, were startled by this fugitive flow of blanched men, from whom they could learn nothing of the causes or the intention of the running.

Just when the firing of the soldiers had begun, Lieut. Brown gave his signal to the young man at the church-gate to sound the alarm, and about the third round he rushed to the side of Sergeant Bartholomew, and ordered the men to cease firing. The Mayor, who had wandered to his side, repeated the order, and just as the last shots lent their impetus to the flight of the last fugitives on the street, the church bell began to peal out its call for the City's Defenders; which sounded like a last requiem indeed, as the brave young men found themselves standing alone in the streets, with the victims of this swift execution of law lying at their feet. Three men lay either dead, or evidently dying, and one supposed to be mortally wounded, while the blood-stains, traceable in three directions, gave signs of the greater number that were more or less wounded.

The number of wounded has never been learned, as both friends and physicians carefully concealed the facts. To confess one's self as wounded might have given too much evidence of complicity with the mob. But this almost complete concealment confirmed the wonderful fact that no peaceful and worthy citizen had been injured, while there were hundreds of them in the streets, which were raked by the guns, and in the houses, whose fronts and windows were riddled and scarred by the bullets.

As soon as the firing ceased, with the aid of Col. Hitchcock, the sergeant untangled and formed the column on the sidewalk. He found them all in place and ready for duty, except young Roney, who, after a careful inspection of the battle-field, taking note of the casualties, had marched alone with his benignant smile and his gun at a right-shoulder, back to the Wyoming House, from which he had come to join in the conflict. Meanwhile the members of the Citizens' Corps, scattered all over the city, startled first by the sound of guns, or the fleeing mob, began to move from their places of business. When the sound of the alarm-bell came, all halting to inquire what had occurred, ceased, and along the back streets and up the alleys, the young men ran to their headquarters.

On Spruce Street, just as the fugitive crowd had cleared the way, and while pistol shots were yet adding to the panic, Charles R. Smith, one of the originators of the Citizens' Company, might have been seen dodging his way behind fences and tree-boxes, with the instincts of a true soldier, and as a picket on duty. He was hailed by a short young man, who came trotting down Jefferson Avenue, who had been aroused from sleep, having been on watch all night, who inquired what might be the matter. When hastily informed that the war had actually begun, and that their brethren were "already in the field," this young man shouted, "come on;" and at a dead run he left the skirmisher to his advance by cover, while he took the middle of the street, and came into headquarters just as the bloody heroes, all bloodless and shaken, tottered in to gather breath and steady their nerves. This young man was Andrew Bryson, Jr., with a name honored in the American navy; and of a blood glorified in history for its courage, and patriotic virtue. He had a voice to command and a knowledge of military tactics, and had already proven of invaluable service as a drill master, and second sergeant, of the company.

While the firing squad gathered breath and adjusted their

cartridges, Sergeant Bryson formed the gathering recruits in line, and marched them across the head of the street with bayonets fixed, expecting an immediate return of the mob, which had so hastily vanished. By the time the veteran Smith had finished his reconnoissance and seized his gun, he found the line formed, and Bryson counting the men off for duty.

Meanwhile Captain Ripple, absorbed in his books, was entirely oblivious to the great mass meeting between himself and the city, and to all its consequent results. Suddenly he discovered the stream of fugitives coming directly towards him. He went out, at once, and learning from one of them as he ran, that the soldiers were shooting in the city, he seized a buggy and drove with fury through the crowd. He reached the headquarters to find Bryson's squad on efficient guard, and learning that the boys had been attacked before they fired, he rushed in and embraced them, with a glow of generous enthusiasm, which endeared him to them forever afterwards.

By the time the Captain had appeared, the greater part of his company had reported for duty, and with them many more of the elder and younger men of the city. At the request of the mayor, the captain, as soon as copies of a public notice could be printed by hand, ordered out a squad; and taking the Mayor by the arm, accompanied him down Lackawanna Avenue; while he warned all loiterers on the streets to disperse to their homes, and posted his order, that all business houses should be immediately closed. The Mayor, faint from the loss of blood, and sick from pain, when he reached Wyoming Avenue, had to be taken back and placed in the hands of a physician, while Edward C. Lynde and E. P. Kingsbury acted as his secretaries and aids.

Captain Ripple finished his march, and returned leaving the street cleared. Bryson's column faced the open street, in which the dead men lay, along whose whole length a solemn

stillness had speedily fallen, which was only the more oppressive from the apprehension that the mob would soon rally, and that the bloody work had only begun. Not a living soul could be seen along the Avenue, as the noontide sun poured down its light and heat.

At this time there lived in the city of Scranton a worthy colored man of marked piety and politeness, who ran an express wagon to earn an honest living. He was universally known for his courtesy, and his honest purpose. Indeed he was recognized as one of the needs and factors of the city. Simple-hearted and at peace with all the world, he was the owner of a horse more solemn and conspicuous than himself. It was a horse built after the mediæval-gothic style of architecture, exceedingly long and loose. A horse which seemed to have been put together in sections, with an imperfect connection between them, each section requiring to be set in motion before the one next to it could be fully apprised of the driver's intention to move. When in full motion, this horse would remind one of a dilapidated locomotive and its tender trying an upward grade, with a half head of steam. The case in which the spectator may perplex himself with the question as to whether the motive power is in the locomotive or in the tender. Just as Captain Ripple had completed his march, undertaken by the Mayor's order, closing the business houses and dismissing the loiterers from the street; Bryson's division of the guard being still on duty across the head of the Avenue; the slowly sawing head and pendent tongue of this remarkable horse became visible, coming up the street by sections, at its usual gait, as if no unwonted excitement had ever disturbed the highway. Beside, and following the tender, in which the driver sat, with his usual dignity and incapability of showing fear by change of color, marched with solemn determination an alderman of the Sixth Ward, burdened with the dignity of duty official. With him was a cluster of



the friends of the dead men, whose bodies were still lying at the four corners of the street. With becoming gravity, the bodies of the unfortunate victims were lifted and tenderly placed in the wagon, and grateful thanks tendered the driver for his friendly offices at a time when friends were so needful. They then inquired the price of his hire. The man, who lived and died at peace with God, and with all races of men, lifted his hat, and with the statement that he should charge them nothing for this service, he also assured them that he should "always be happy to serve them under circumstances like these." He gave notice to his faithful horse, and bore away to their waiting friends the remains of this terrible mob; leaving the Citizens' Corps and the wounded Mayor in possession of the city, upon which had fallen a painful silence and apprehension. Law had won its first victory over the blind force of passion, and the wicked schemes of communism in the city. The flood had met the rock in the great highway of the city. The waters had raged and swept about it in fearful eddies of violence and wrath; but the rock remained unmoved until the stream was utterly broken. The city whose danger had gathered as a tempest, which threatened to sweep away the best treasures of its people, had found its defense in the courage of its young men, who announced with the crack of their rifles that the law must be respected.

A few minutes after the last shots were fired, Mr. George Sanderson, Jr., ran to the telegraph office and sent a request to Governor Hartranft to send troops at once, and having received answer that troops were on the way, and would reach the city before midnight, he shouldered his gun and reported at the Mayor's headquarters for duty.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE GATHERING OF THE CITY'S DEFENDERS.

The Night Watch—After the Battle—The Picket Line—"Grand Rounds"—"Forsorn Hope"—Morning Relief—Shock of the Rebound.

AS soon as the mayor had sufficiently recovered, having been carried to the company's store, he issued his orders to all able-bodied citizens to gather upon a given signal to this point, which he had made his headquarters. Captain Ripple sent out squads of his company to enlist such men as might be willing to aid in guarding the city. By the middle of the afternoon the Citizens' Corps had pretty much all reported for duty, and, with the accession of volunteers, an efficient force was gathered. Bryson's guard was held fast to duty across the avenue, changing its members as necessity required, while he varied their monotonous watch with drill in the use of their arms. Every man who possessed a gun brought it with him, and those who had none were furnished with those gathered by Ruthven, which belonged to the State, until the supply was entirely exhausted. As the night came on the expectation was universal that the mob would return, and such citizens as could not leave their families were requested to place themselves on guard near their own premises. Strong guards were placed on all the streets and alleys leading to the headquarters; and pickets were stationed at different points further out, to prevent surprise.

Reliefs were organized for the night work, and intelligent watchmen were placed on the top of the store, and at other points of observation, as the force was not sufficient to attempt

a reconnoissance in the outskirts to learn what the lawless might be doing. At intervals reconnoitering squads were sent out into different parts of the city, while the men off duty spent the time in preparing cartridges and burnishing their guns. Thus the whole city was reduced to an extemporized military camp, in which no traveler on the streets was suffered to pass without challenge.

The City of Scranton had never seen such a night, as this which followed the dispersion of the mob. The citizens knew their force was entirely too limited to protect the great interests they had undertaken to defend. If the mob should organize and return, as every one supposed it would, their numbers must exceed, at least tenfold, all the forces that could be mustered against them. The families in their homes, almost without exception, were left without immediate defenders; as husbands, brothers and sons were all stationed on duty where the mayor and his counsellors deemed best.

But the courage of the ladies throughout was manifestly heroic. As the shadows began to gather, an alarm was sent to headquarters that an attack had been made on the Scranton family residence, and two squads were sent on the double-quick to the rescue. When one of these squads approached, they were surprised to find one of the young ladies of the house, who had been startled by the passing of a bullet through one of the window-panes, had rushed out, and around the house, revolver in hand, searching for the marauder that had shot it. Another lady might have been seen gun in hand standing watch in her own door, as a relief to her husband, who was permitted to take an hour's sleep after midnight; and another still, having her two sons in the ranks and her husband out of the city, whiled away her lonely hours preparing lint and bandages, for any wounded heroes who might need them before the morning. This

much is recorded as a fair sample of the courage and devotion of the mothers, wives and sisters of the brave men who risked their lives for the reign of law and order.

A solemn silence reigned over the whole city, which seemed to grow deeper as the hours passed, and to affect every living thing. The full moon and a clear sky made it remarkably light; but scarcely a sound disturbed the painful watching. Scarcely a dog ventured to bark, a chicken to crow, or even a horse to stamp in his stall.

The watchman on the company's store, from time to time, reported the movement of signal lights and flashing of rockets on the hills, and among the "patches," on the outskirts of the city, and pickets reported the discovery of bodies of men gathering at different points down the valley. All night long squads of strikers were moving about, and gathering at different points, a short distance from the city. Alarms which brought the whole force to its feet were frequent through the night; but these alarms were, perhaps, as much due to the anxiety and inexperience of the men on duty as to any immediate danger. All night long these brave men stood to their watch, momentarily expecting bloody work; but the morning dawned without any return of the mob, and brought with it renewed confidence, as well as refreshment, to the weary watchers. The mass of these young men had been on duty for eighteen hours, and some of them for more than thirty without relief.

The anxieties of the night had been greatly increased by the failure of the promised troops to reach the city; and by the conviction that they had been stopped by a breaking of the track, or some disabling of the trains at least thirty miles away. The movement of the trains filled with troops had been traced by telegraph on the Bloomsburgh Division of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railway almost to Nanticoke, where the strikers had torn up the track. Here, at

about eleven o'clock, P.M., the telegraph wire was cut, and no man could conjecture what the result might be. The troops were known to be at least two days' march distant from the city, if their train should have to be abandoned. Towards midnight Alexander W. Dickson and Robert Reaves were sent up the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railway to stop the night train, and take from it a lot of hand grenades, which had been ordered by telegraph from New York. They succeeded, and by the possession of these, the watchers at the headquarters felt a new courage and strength; for with these every boy might be effectively armed.

But about eight o'clock in the morning of the 2d, the burden of the watchers was suddenly lifted, as the first train, with the First Division of the National Guard of Pennsylvania, under command of Major General Robert M. Brinton, came quietly into the city, about 3000 strong, and having about a hundred of the road breakers and rioters as prisoners in charge. Never were soldiers more joyfully welcomed. The homes of the city were thrown open, and these men who had been on fatigue duty for more than two weeks, and had among them some of the best men from the city of Philadelphia, were soon made to feel that they had at least found a place where their work would be appreciated.

Within less than an hour these regiments were placed in, and around, the city where their force could be made most effective. "The Citizens' Corps" was relieved from immediate duty, and the members were suffered to disperse to their homes, to report upon call. The spirit, and patriotic self-denial of these men upon guard may be indicated by a single instance.

After the National Guard appeared, a German lawyer of no mean reputation, who had been held to duty in Bryson's Guard, stepped up to his officer about nine o'clock in the morning, and asked if he could now be safely permitted to go

to his home ; remarking that he supposed there was a new child in his house that morning, and he would like to know whether it was a boy or a girl.

As soon as General Brinton had housed his prisoners safely, he placed strong guards and pickets in the outskirts of the city ; and the Mayor before noon, had posted his peremptory order, that all saloons and bars where liquor was sold should be at once closed, and remain closed, until otherwise ordered. "The Citizens' Corps" was charged with the duty of seeing that this order was complied with. A little after noon Governor Hartranft, who had left Pittsburgh the evening before, arrived, accompanied by Major-General Huidekoper, with his command of eight hundred men. The presence of the Governor, especially because of the great confidence of all classes in his wisdom, and executive ability, speedily brought a feeling of relief to the whole community. That class of the workmen on strike, who had become unexpectedly involved by the horrible work of the lawless, knew the Governor would do them no injustice ; while the protectors and asserters of law were satisfied from his military record, that through his wisdom and experience any intemperate military zeal awakened must be controlled. Hence the whole people felt an inexpressible relief, and began to come from their homes and seek for some intelligent apprehension of the results of the sudden and bloody resistance to the mob, which had been made by the heroic band of young men on yesterday.

The effects of the determined resistance to the mob were not measured by the immediate and visible results. These were salutary, indeed, if they were severe. A sight to make one shudder was revealed when the day dawned on the city. The people, relieved of immediate apprehension, walked about the streets in the neighborhood of the tragedy with awe. It was sad, indeed, to see the blood of men, who were yesterday so full of life and fury, drying on the stones of the streets,



and note the peaceful houses of merchandise of a Christian city covered with bullet marks, which indicated how much more fatal must have been the results, but for that invisible guiding hand that makes no mistakes. Why no more lives were sacrificed, in the crowd where there could have hardly been less than three thousand people crowded within half a block; and where so many bullet marks were left on the stones of the street, and on the buildings at no greater height than a man's head, was an insoluble enigma. But it was clear that these young men had demonstrated, what had been demonstrated a thousand times before, that it is the highest wisdom and the truest humanity to meet mob violence, as quickly as it manifests itself, with a deadly force.

This "Citizens' Corps" of volunteer police evidently saved the city by their prompt and determined action. But it was soon manifested that they had done vastly more. The crack of their rifles echoed and re-echoed up and down the valley; giving voice to the majesty of law from Carbondale, to Nanticoke; and a very few hours demonstrated the fact that the monster of communistic rage, of pillage and murder, that had swept through so many cities of the land, had been struck in its vital part on Lackawanna Avenue.

These fifty guns had fought and won the battle of law and order for the northern coal-fields. By the shock of their tread, the vigor of their determination, and the dead earnestness of their aim, these young men inaugurated the flight of lawless endeavor, which swept over the whole valley, and speedily gave the power into the hands of the good and true. The effect of this bold and deadly resistance was felt immediately at Wilkes-Barre, and Kingston; not only in giving new courage to law-loving people, but especially in dissolving at once the schemes of the wicked. On the 2d of August the telegraph had carried the victory from ocean to ocean. The revelation of the city's danger and defense was carried on wings

of lightning around the world, while the boys held their solemn vigil. The Scranton mode of dealing with the mob was heralded from city to city, and awoke, in many an exposed community, to the energies of true wisdom, the hesitating people. The persevering courage and official manliness of the wounded Mayor was used in all cities of the country to infuse executive officials with the spirit of American devotion to official duty, and arouse the people to the apprehension of the solemn sanctities of law; without which there can be no true liberty.

The editors of a neighboring city stirred up their executive with a striking contrast between the efficiency of the Scranton Mayor "with his broken jaw," with that of their own Mayor, whom they said was "all jaw." Thus throughout this part of the country the effect became rapidly manifest and salutary.

But in the city of Scranton, and in the coal-fields, the end of violence had not come. The people only felt the more intensely, as the smoke of the battle cleared away, that the dangers of the community were not all passed. The state of feeling between the dissatisfied workmen and their employers was only intensified by the lawless results of the strike, and by the bloodstains on the stones of the street. The present relief afforded by the presence of the Governor, and his guard of five thousand soldiers, only suggested, with great emphasis, to the timid and cowardly, the coming danger, when these troops should be withdrawn and the city remanded to its own care, and the administration of law. It was evident, indeed, to the wise and thoughtful citizens that time alone could close the fissures which had so suddenly been revealed, heal the wounds of conflict, and bring the mixed community back to a solid basis of peace and good-will.

The Citizens' Corps had scarcely been relieved from its fatigue duty, by the arrival of the Philadelphia troops, before the suggestions of fear, on the one side, and consciousness of humiliation and defeat on the other, began to disturb the people

generally, separating them into classes. The public found itself called upon to sit in judgment upon the acts of their brave defenders, both on the questions of right, and of prudent wisdom. The young men had not had time to wash the grim stain of powder from their hands and faces before they found themselves arraigned in the public mind, for their rashness, or for the possible results of the forceful dispersion of the mob. They soon saw that they must defend themselves, as well as the city.

In the gathering of the facts for the preparation of this history, the author secured personal statements from all the main actors, and from many witnesses of the crowded events. By comparing these statements he has been able, he believes, to write a true record of the main facts as they occurred. These statements are all more or less comprehensive and minute. Generally they have proved to be entirely reliable. It is here proposed to introduce an extract from the statement of Captain Ripple as more clear and expressive of the state of feeling, and spirit which prevailed the day after the mob, than anything the author could present. Captain Ripple's statement respecting this return wave is as follows :

"Of the events which followed close after the riot of August 1, 1877 and the peculiar condition of the public mind at that time I will make a brief statement.

"The boys of the firing squad and members of the Citizens' Corps, had hardly been relieved from immediate duty by the arrival of Gen. Brinton and his command, when we found that we had to answer at the bar of public opinion, for what we thought had been both courageously and patriotically done. We had not returned to our homes after the weary night-watch, before we found there was a current of public opinion setting hard against us. All over the streets the question was being discussed as to whether there had been a mob. Many fearful souls, who for the week preceding the riot scarcely dared

recognize one of the Citizens' Corps on the street, for fear he might be considered one of them, and thereby become a marked man; and who, immediately after the suppression of the riot, under the impulse of their relieved feelings, were loudest in their praise of the firing party, now as suddenly changed front again, and charged the boys with hastily yielding to the impressions and cruel demands of Mr. Scranton, which they assumed led to firing upon what they called helpless and harmless people. The whole matter began to assume very serious aspects in the company itself. The members of the corps who had not been notified until the mob had been dispersed, began to feel happy that they had escaped the responsibility of the shooting, and some of the members of the firing squad became so much troubled, that they tried to have it understood that they had not been present. Others quietly spread the intelligence that they had not fired their guns.

"Those of us who felt the responsibility in the case became perplexed and amazed. We were told that it would not be safe for us to walk the streets, for we were marked men,—and if we had friends, they were apparently few, and we did not know where to find them. I cannot express the comfort it gave us to find here and there a man with a real back-bone, who was not afraid to give us assurance of an intention to stand by us. I could mention a number who showed themselves in this light. They were such men as Dr. N. Y. Leet, Charles W. Roesler, Charles F. Mattes, William W. Manness, Frederick W. Gunster, C. L. Mercereau, J. C. Platt, George Sanderson, Sr., and Dr. Throop. We found especial comfort in the outspoken courage of W. W. Scranton. He was a man for the time certainly, and while he was the object of the bitterest feeling and unfair criticism, he stood without flinching, and his bravery helped us all. The day after the mob, was about as trying a time for us as any we were called to meet. It was

harder for us to defend ourselves than to defend the city. But the boys stuck together as well as they could, and did their duty, seeing that the saloons were closed, as the Mayor had ordered; and when night came, the whole company gathered at headquarters and remained together, because it was clear there was danger to individuals, who might be waylaid on the streets, or get into trouble through the discussions of the crowds, or be arrested at their homes and taken to some outlying ward, to be given a mock trial and subjected to every indignity, and possibly murdered in going or returning, by the infuriated rioters, or their sympathizers.

"The evening train of that day brought back to the city two men who were destined to become leaders and counsellors for us in this condition of excitement and uncertainty, which had been so perplexing all day—two men who became openly identified with all the plans about to be carried through to secure the future safety of the city, as well as to save the brave men who had dispersed the mob. One of these was Mr. Henry M. Boies, the President of the 'Moosic Powder Company' and afterwards of the 'Dickson Manufacturing Company,' now the owner and operator of the great manufacturing interest of the 'Boies Steel Car-wheel Factory' in the city. The other was Rev. Dr. S. C. Logan, who had for nine years been the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Scranton. We learned that both of these men had, from the beginning of the strike, counselled the organization of a force to secure the city from lawlessness: either an enlarged and armed police, or a military company, to enforce respect for law. Mr. Boies had volunteered, on the first suggestion of the Mayor, as special policeman, and had also signed the roll of the Citizens' Corps. He had remained in the city for duty until assured that his services would not be needed, when he joined his family at the sea-shore. He had hardly greeted his family before he was startled by the telegraphic announcement of the bloody riot, and he started for home on the first train.



"Dr. Logan was a parson with positive convictions. He occupied towards us the position of minister of peace, but was well prepared by moral courage and mental grasp to be a minister of war as well. He believed in the reign of reason and law, and determined these should reign in the city, if it should be necessary to have some one stand over a man with a club while he reasoned with him. He was both long and level-headed, and became a tower of strength and comfort to us at this critical time. He had charged his two sons, when he left for his vacation, that if the strike then sweeping over the country should reach the city, they should offer their services to the Mayor as special police, and stand openly on the side of law, allowing no such degradation of the United States flag as he had witnessed in 1871, when it was carried through the mills by the strikers, driving men from their work. He had learned that his sons had followed his advice, and he had tried for a week to return, but found no way of travel. He came in on the first train that would permit it after learning of the riot. This train came in with the windows barricaded with cushions, and the few passengers protected by such articles of furniture as could be used to shield them from stones and bullets, of which the conductor had been warned by the attack on the down-train, the same night, just outside of the city. The Doctor was well-known to the boys, who thought a great deal of him. Three young men of the Citizens' Corps obtained leave to meet him, about midnight, at the station, and escorted him with their guns to his home, where his excellent wife had been remaining alone for forty-eight hours.

"These two men brought us strength and help very quickly by their outspoken defence of the Company and of the firing squad. On Friday night they both came to the headquarters and were received with cheers, as the boys had learned to appreciate true friends. Dr. Logan, after his usual style, made us a speech, in which he offered to bury all of the boys



with benefit of clergy, if they should be hung for shooting the rioters. In fact, as he himself once described it, he 'uncovered his inexhaustible gas-retort and let off sky-rockets for the illumination of the United States flag,' and closed with the promise to stand by the young men. I am glad to say that he afterwards fulfilled to the satisfaction of the City Guard the promises he made that night. It is enough for me to say that the boys took new courage, and concluded it might yet be counted an honor to have saved the city, and from that night we were satisfied we should not stand alone." Thus far Capt. Ripple.

As Captain Ripple states it, the shooting at the mob was charged as hasty and uncalled for. The mob itself was said to have been an unarmed, and helpless body of people, who had set out to persuade, or possibly to compel by force of public opinion, their comrades to leave the shops, and refuse work until all could go back on equal terms. Threats of vengeance, with grave warnings of future trouble, began to creep about the streets. Passion began to rise among the people; and as they discussed the facts, the after-thoughts of both the honest and the faint-hearted made the days sad and sombre. For awhile it seemed to be a very questionable honor to be known as one of the brave fifty. So much so that the recognized members dwindled down as low as thirty-eight in the general count. The best citizens soon saw that something must be done to rally the people to the right, or the fruits of the victory over the mob would all be lost. Hence, on the afternoon of the 2d of August, a meeting of citizens was gathered, on private notice, circulated mostly by Charles W. Roesler and Hugh M. Hannah, at the Anthracite Club Rooms. Over this meeting the Hon. George Sanderson presided and Hugh M. Hannah acted as secretary. This meeting fully and emphatically endorsed the actions of the Mayor, his Police and the Citizens' Corps. The committee on

resolutions, consisting of Isaac J. Post, Lewis Pughe, Charles Dupont Breck, Dr. B. H. Throop and Henry Belin, Jr.; after calling attention to the proclamation of the Governor, issued more than a week before, inviting and authorizing all good citizens to organize for the maintenance of law and order, as our Citizens' Corps had done, reported a series of ringing resolutions, giving the highest commendation to the Mayor and the young men, pledging both hand and purse of the best citizens for their defense. The reporters of the respectable papers were quietly advised to change their tone, and they gave assurances of being in hearty co-operation with the designs of the meeting. These resolutions were published, and before another day had passed the drift of public opinion, which was setting so disastrously against the firing squad, began to change.

The miners' association, through their committee, publicly denied all complicity with either the mass-meeting of August 1st, or with the mob in which it terminated. Yet they on the 2d, appointed a committee to prosecute the men who fired upon it. The day closed with the rumor that an alderman of the Sixth Ward, under the counsel of an Irish lawyer, who was known to be seeking for the nomination as a candidate for the office of Additional Law Judge of the County, had taken upon himself the duties of the Coroner, and proposed to hold an inquest in this Ward of the city over the dead men who yet lay unburied.

On the 3d of August the two men mentioned by Captain Ripple were joined by the Rev. A. A. Marple, the worthy Rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, in the city, who had cut off his vacation also, and hastened home where his son had enlisted to maintain law and order. These pastors held a consultation and agreed that bold and emphatic vindication of the Mayor, and his special police in their resistance to the mob, was the duty of the hour, and at once set about it. In this work they soon found many earnest helpers, such as those

mentioned by Captain Ripple in his statement. The young men kept together at their headquarters, partly by the affinities their work had created, and partly by the fear of assassination, if they should remain at their homes. It was on the night of the 3d that these pastors visited the Mayor's and military headquarters, when Dr. Logan addressed them with words of cheer, in which he committed himself and all true men in the city to their support and protection, giving them hearty thanks for the work they had already done. In the positions taken the excellent Rector heartily joined, giving his audible endorsement. The young men who had stood as a wall before this flood of wicked passion to break its power, and for twenty hours had stood on guard to preserve the city against the expected return of what everybody knew was an overwhelming force, began from that time to rise above the fears of their friends. That Friday night's gathering started the current of public feeling which had been breasted the day before by the citizens' meeting in the direction of justice and of true safety.

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE RETURN TIDE.

Dangers of the Undertow—The Invisible Dangers Worse than the Visible—The City's Defenders Must Defend Themselves.

THERE were two forces, at this time active in the community, which especially interfered with the healthy movement of public opinion. Both of these connected itself, more or less directly, with the ex parte coroner's investigation which was being conducted in the Sixth Ward, by men whose natural affinities and race prejudices were supposed to lead them into sympathy with the elements of which the mob had been composed. An investigation which was looked upon simply as an attempt to wreak vengeance, under pretence of legal forms, for the blood that had been shed in the streets. The first of these forces was the uncomfortable position, and grievous complaints, of the honest and orderly miners, who felt that they had been compromised by the mob; and who, because of their relation to the strike, supposed themselves to be under a cloud of suspicion in the eyes of all good citizens. These workmen really had the hearty sympathy of the great body of the citizens. It was well understood that a multitude, if not a majority, of the best miners had been coerced and held to the strike by compulsion; and neither the mayor nor the members of the special police had ever charged them with insincerity in their promise to aid in the putting down of all lawlessness in the city, while the strike should continue.

There were few, if any, in the city who believed that they

had really anything to do with, or any power to control, the mob, which was organized the 1st of August. Even the company that met on the skirts of the Round Woods, and were seen to go over and join the crowd at the silk mill, were known not to belong to the best class. Their great mistake was the aid they lent to the lawless by their charges against the authorities that saved the city, and their assumption that there was no mob, even when they knew the Mayor had been attacked and terribly wounded. They asserted that it was only an unarmed crowd who desired, by force of numbers, to compel the unfaithful members of their associations to leave the shops and stand to duty with their brethren. It was asserted that the clubs said to have been used were simply laths thoughtlessly taken from the lumber-yard through which the people passed on their way, and that any demonstrations of violence that might have been made were made by thoughtless and irresponsible boys, who may have fired pistols in the air; but, if so, it was only as a vent to their youthful enthusiasm. One of the leaders of the mob, so unfortunate as to lose his life with the fire of the special police, it was asserted, was a man with a sick family, who was returning from a drug-store with medicine for his children, having no connection with the demonstration except as a casual looker-on, stopped by the crowd. Yet there were a hundred witnesses of his brutal attack upon the mayor, and half a dozen victims of his violence before he reached the spot where he fell. These statements, circulated by respectable citizens, excited fears in the minds of conscientious people that possibly the firing squad had been hasty; and apprehension on the part of the peaceful that a permanent opposition might be inaugurated between the citizens and the workmen.

The other fact which gave cause for real apprehension was the avowals of special vengeance upon Mr. W. W. Scranton; upon whom, without evidence or even inquiry, the responsi-

bility of the resistance to the mob was placed by the mass of workmen. The feeling against Mr. Scranton among the workmen generally, with the exception of those under his immediate superintendency, was very intense. Since the strike of 1871 his reputation among the strikers had been that of an oppressor. His fearlessness at the time of what they called the long strike, and his connection with its sudden termination, had inspired the mass of miners with a fear of him. His open defiance of their threats, and his resistance to all attempts to interfere with the workmen under his charge, had established the opinion that he was reckless and selfish, with small appreciation of human life. Mr. Scranton had always held such an agreement with his hands that there was no inducement for them to join in a strike, as he promised them whatever might be gained by the strikers if they should remain at work. There was manifest just that bitter hatred and fear of him which might be expected to hatch schemes of assassination and arson, in order to put him out of the way. The hatred of, and opposition to, him were so intense that it was deemed hardly safe for the friends of order and law to defend him. His own manifest recklessness of danger, and his brusque way of dealing with men generally, kept alive the intensity of this passion. The loyal citizens appreciated his fidelity to order and his courage; but a large number of them were persuaded that confidence between the workmen and corporations; and consequently the peace and safety of the city could not be secured while he occupied the conspicuous position which his character and services had won for him. Through the influence of politicians without conscience, and men without character, this feeling was fanned, fed, and intensified.

Mr. Scranton and those associated with him in the public defense were denounced and threatened, and all manner of falsehoods touching their acts and intentions were circulated, until the great body of the best citizens felt there could be



no peace in the city, especially after the militia should be withdrawn.

This conviction culminated on Saturday, August 4th, four days after the riot, and at the hour when the bodies of the three victims were borne to their graves in a quiet funeral along the avenue, in which hundreds of the laborers participated.

Mr. Scranton's friends, all excellent and judicious citizens, advised him to leave the city, to save his life from the assassins, and expressed to him their conviction that he could never hope to live in peace and safety in the city again.

About four o'clock in the afternoon Mr. Scranton, having respectfully listened to this expression of opinion, and being puzzled by it as to what might be his duty, called upon his pastor, stated the facts and asked for advice. He was at once assured that it would most certainly prove disastrous to the peace of the city for him to leave it upon the demand of a set of men who were bent upon unlawful work. He was told that *the issue had been joined between the law-abiding and the lawless forces of society, and this was no time for any true man to think of retiring from the contest.* He was assured that the feeling, so bitter against himself, would speedily be manifested towards his companions of the firing squad, if he should vanish; and it could not but be an endless disaster to the city to allow the lawless element to drive him from it. He was therefore counseled to stand as his conscience and brave spirit had taught him, and was assured that his pastor would stand with him, and if necessary watch over him day and night while the danger lasted.

This weakening of the determination of the good people to stand upon the issue, which the mayor and the company of special police had made with the lawless spirit; manifested by the suggestion that the man who had made himself most obnoxious to the mob should abandon the field, determined

the pastor to make the question of openly sustaining the authorities *a public issue of religious duty*, in the approaching Sabbath worship. He gave notice accordingly; and when the hour of public worship arrived on Sabbath morning, he found a large gathering of the people, who seemed to be only waiting for some one to voice their deepest convictions of justice, of truth and duty.

Taking for his theme the Scripture: "The wicked flee when no man pursueth, but the righteous are as bold as a lion;" he made the question of the hour, that of the war of order against lawlessness. He said that "the truth of the first statement of the text had been demonstrated in these streets, and all about this sanctuary, four days ago, when a handful of young men, armed for the protection of law, met the hosts of infuriated men, bent upon lawless enterprise, "when one was made to chase a thousand, and two to put ten thousand to flight."

"But there were times when it was required of Christian men and women to demonstrate the truth of the *second proposition*, 'The righteous are as bold as a lion.' There are times when Christian and patriotic duty are one. Such a time had come to the people of this city. The spirit of lawlessness and anarchy, which has been sweeping over the whole land, has come here also. That spirit threatens the foundations of civil government, and seeks to give license to all evil passions. No man who fears God can hesitate to imperil his life in the effort to meet and turn back such a flood of iniquity. Citizenship and Christian duty bring here responsibilities, which no sacrifice short of life itself can ever cancel. The spirit abroad is that of the Commune; generated in the shades of moral death, and manifested in a lawless violence which can only be sin. A mob, whatever its moving cause, its aims or ends, is the enemy of God and man, to which no Christian can for a moment yield voluntary submission. Therefore he adjured his auditors to stand fast together and give no place to fear. Let there be

no temptation to the mingling of questions of expediency with the questions of duty, where the issues are simply those of law, order, and life. To stand with the right is to stand with God, and the results of such standing are all with Him.

"There may be," he said, "at the present time a struggle between capital and labor of heavy import to both parties—a manly struggle, whose noise and absorbing interest may attract the attention of all right-minded men; and demand that the Christian shall take sides openly with the right against the wrong, or give his strength to the weak as against the strong. But there is a deeper, a more vital issue involved here; even one in which the question is simply that of the supremacy of law, and the triumph of regulated liberty over that of wicked license, which inaugurates the reign of sin and death. Shall we take counsel of our fears, in such an issue—especially after God has given us such a victory as that which has saved honor, as well as the city, at such small expense of life? Shall our brave young men, who risked their lives to snatch the city and its executive from the hands of a mob, go skulking through these streets as if they were the breakers of the law, instead of its defenders? SHALL OUR SONS BE SET TO DEFEND THEMSELVES BECAUSE THEY HAVE DEFENDED THE CITY? Or shall they be counselled to hide themselves for fear of offending or exciting those who trample upon law? God forbid! The bloody hand of fraternal strife will be lifted up for a generation in our country if our people are recreant to patriotic duty now. We will prove ourselves unworthy, both of our fathers and of the precious heritage of regulated liberty which they have given us, if we hesitate for a moment when the issue is made as to whether the city is to be governed by the constituted authority, or by an independent association, however honest the men who constitute it. This is no time to listen to the suggestions of prudent fears, or expediency; no time to discuss and adjust side issues—to redress grievances, or to remodel existing relations

between classes, when men are busy with the effort to uproot sacred personal liberty, and righteous law. The duty of the hour is to stand shoulder to shoulder as men, for the maintenance and triumph of what we know to be right, let it hurt whom it will. Let us walk these streets as if we owned them; and meant to own them, against every usurping sovereignty, from whatever quarter it may come; and let us give thanks to God that He has given us such noble sons, who did not turn back in the day of peril and terror."

The effect of this pointed appeal began to be manifest immediately. The citizens began at once to gather about the Mayor and his guard, and to rebuke the spirit of lawlessness openly. It began to be recognized as an honor to belong to the Citizens' Company, and even to Mr. Scranton's coal and iron police; which he took steps to have organized according to law shortly afterwards, and placed under the command of Captain Carl W. McKinney.

Meanwhile the ex-parte coroner's inquest was being conducted in a quarter into which the defenders of the city deemed it dangerous to go without an escort. The leading lawyer then in the city was Isaac J. Post, Esq., of the firm of Hand & Post. He was a man whose Christian character, whose genial soul, sense of justice, and high scholarship, especially in the law, had won the respect of all classes, and endeared him to all the best citizens of Scranton. He, at the suggestion of responsible men, undertook the work of protecting the young men and the Mayor from the legal meshes which the Alderman and his counsellors were attempting to weave about them. The Hon. John Brisbin, of New York, volunteered to assist him; and they visited the Alderman's court only to find a state of unreasonable passion. These lawyers deemed it wise to give promise that whenever this court should conclude whom they wanted of the defenders of the city, these men should be forthcoming, if proper notice were given. With this agreement they re-



*J. J. Post.*





tired, leaving detectives, procured by Mr. Brisbin, to report to them the progress and the conclusion of the investigation.

On the 6th of August a council of citizens sent a committee, of which Pastor Logan was chairman, to these attorneys with the suggestion that proper legal steps should be taken to remove the investigation from the hands of the Alderman, and place it in the hands of the Coroner of the County. It was supposed by them, from consultation with legal counsel, that the Alderman of the Sixth Ward had no legal right to make such an investigation, as the men were killed in the Eighth Ward, and the law required, in the absence of the Coroner, that the Alderman of that Ward should have had charge of the investigation. The lawyers declined to do this, but promised to keep the Citizens' Committee posted, and act with them in all measures proposed to secure the safety of the young men.

The angry, and dangerous, spirit of the strikers was manifested during the whole time this investigation was proceeding, and all signs of resumption of work disappeared. The city was in the hands of the militia, with General Huidekoper in command. He was both a judicious and efficient officer, and repressed all attempts to create disturbance with great promptness. Under his counsels the Citizens' Company were relieved from all duty, and the members of it went to their homes, and their business.

It was thought that such abandonment of the organization, during the stay of the soldiers from abroad, might hasten the quieting of the evil passions, which their effective work had excited. For three days there was no assembly of the company, and the young men attended to their business; being careful to keep themselves in safe quarters during the night. More conspicuous ones, who were known to be specially obnoxious to the friends of the victims, were warned of the danger which might overtake them, and nothing was left undone by their friends which was deemed needful to save them from the hands of assassins.

Many of the miners and laborers had become greatly embittered, and put forth more strenuous efforts to continue the strike; and the lawless element, that segregated naturally where there was idleness, drifted about the movements of the strikers, greatly to the annoyance of their best men, and fanned the fires of passion wherever they gave signs of dying out. One of the newspapers of the city, too, from day to day, added its force to the evil counsel of angry men; and the whole brood of demagogues, who professed to serve the laboring men, in order to gain their votes at the approaching election, carried on their nefarious trade with great perseverance and energy; and, alas! with too much success. The foul spirit and practices of the "Molly Maguire" moved in and about the city, dropping mysterious warnings, here and there, to intimidate honest men, and threats of vengeance upon all who had maintained the dignity of the law.

The strikers opened a sort of co-operative and benevolent store in Hyde Park, to sell cheap supplies to the needy workmen, who were not only refusing work, but forbidding all others to enter the mines. They sent out wagons among the farmers and solicited gifts of grain and vegetables. They accumulated quite a supply, and made the impression that the whole country was upon the side of the strikers. The pumping engines were visited by night at different points, and attempts were made to intimidate the engineers. Vagabonds grew bold in the darkness, and tried to strike the faithful militiamen of the National Guard with apprehensions of personal danger.

The progress of the Sixth Ward investigation was carefully watched, and every plan and fact reported by a process entirely unknown to the men who were engaged in it. Preparations were made to checkmate their movements the moment they should become dangerous. Governor Hartranft issued his order to the Major-General in command, to protect the

young men against all violence, and to place them in charge of the militia if need should arise. The alderman completed his investigations at noon, on Wednesday the 8th of August, just eight days after the mob had been dispersed, and a verdict with a charge of "murder in the first degree" was brought in against twenty-two respectable citizens; not one of whom had been allowed either to be present or have a representative before the magistrate. Seven of these men had nothing to do with the firing upon the mob, and some of them were squares away when the firing took place. The recorded testimony upon which the indictment was made afforded *prima facie* evidence of the true spirit and character of the proceedings.

Although promises were made by the men having the inquest in hand that nothing should be done before the next day, under pretence of the illness of the attorney, who was the Alderman's counselor, and who drew up all the papers; and notwithstanding the assurances given by Mr. Post, that any number of the firing squad who might be called for should be produced in open court as soon as they might be needed, writs were issued against these gentlemen immediately, and a squad of constables was sent out to seize them as the shadows of the night began to fall.

One of these officers approached Lewis C. Bortree, who sat on the veranda of the Forest House; but when yet twenty paces away he was discovered by Bortree, who immediately drew his pistol and ordered the officer to stop where he was. Bortree, who was himself a deputy sheriff, then assured the official that he was willing to be taken at any time before four o'clock in the afternoon, but after that hour, on any day, he would not be taken alive. The constable quietly retired with the writ unserved.

Another constable with a posse, from the Sixth Ward, appeared, just as the gas was being lighted, at the door of

Charles E. Chittenden's drug-store. Leaving his associates on the sidewalk, the officer entered and served his writ on Mr. Chittenden, who at once understood the perils of his position. With his revolver in hand, he proposed terms to this limb of the law, which he was constrained quietly to accept. These terms were that they should go out together by the back door, and avoid the company of helpers stationed at the front; that the officer should first accompany Mr. Chittenden to his lawyer, and allow the attorney to go with him before the magistrate. They passed out the back way and down the alley, with the question unsettled whether the officer had the prisoner, or the prisoner the officer in charge. Passing into Washington Avenue, the officer paused at the handsome residence of Mr. Theodore F. Hunt, of the firm of Hunt Brothers, before whose business house the firing had taken place, and took him also in charge. Mr. Hunt was one of the most respectable and peaceably inclined citizens of the city, and had nothing more to do with either the mob or the police than to use all diligence to shield himself and his associates from the mortal danger, into which they found themselves suddenly cast, when his business corner became the meeting place of the forces.

He was sitting in peace upon his own porch, feeling entirely secure in his conscious innocence, watching the people gathering to the evening worship in the church opposite, when the officer, with his prisoner approached and captured him also, with his writ from the aldermen's court, on the charge of premeditated murder. After a short parley, Mr. Hunt offered his parole of honor to remain on his own porch until the officer should return from accompanying his other captive to Mr. Post's residence, which was about three squares away. This parole was accepted through the exhortations of Mr. Chittenden, and his revolver, by the officer, who asserted that he only desired to do his official duty. So the two men, the officer

and his prisoner walked, with quiet dignity, up the avenue together.

About the time of the parley, which was being held on Mr. Hunt's porch, a lad who had been on the watch for some hours for the appearance of the alderman's missives, found the man who had given him the charge to watch, and made the announcement that Mr. Chittenden had been taken. Within two minutes more this lad, with the help of Carl W. McKinney, had the ear of General Huidekoper, and, six minutes afterwards, the General sat quietly beside Mr. Hunt on his porch, with two companies of his command at a carry in the street, in front. Here they waited in silence the return of the officer with his prisoner, accompanied by his attorney.

Just then, a well-meaning gentleman, burdened with more nerves than judgment, having heard the rumors of the movement of the avengers of blood, rushed to the church where a number of young men, known to be liable to arrest, were gathered, and disturbed the meeting with an announcement that, but for the coolness of the pastor, would have ended in a panic. The young men were calmly notified to report quietly at headquarters, and runners were sent forth at once, to find all the members of the Citizens' Corps, and bring them to places of safety, within military lines. Just as the pastor had succeeded in getting the last of his people quietly away from the church-gate, the officer and his escort approached Mr. Hunt's residence without any knowledge of what had been done. Seeing the two lines of soldiers motionless, and reaching from the gate to an indefinite distance down the street, Mr. Post suggested, in a gentle voice, to Chittenden, that this was his chance. With a charge to the lawyer not to allow the officer to shoot the prisoner in the back, Chittenden made a rush within the file of soldiers, with the officer close at his heels, and was caught just as he came face to face with the General. The military man seemed not at all flustered or ex-

cited by this sudden rush through his lines of two men without the countersign. He simply inquired with the energy and manner of a man who had faced the fire of Gettysburg, and left an arm as a token of his patriotism: "Who are you?" to the first comer. When informed, by the well-blown citizen, that his name was Chittenden, he coolly answered: "Why, you are the man we have been looking for—glad to see you." Then laying his hand on the prisoner's shoulder, he informed the constable that he might consider himself relieved from any further charge of these two men during the night—that the prisoners were now in safe hands, and should be produced to legitimate authorities in due time; or at any time after daylight should come. The officer protested, and appealed with anxious gentleness to know where he should go, and what return he should make to the alderman of his writs. The General had no information to give him as to his legal responsibilities, or as to any specific direction he might take in his travel, "but he could assure him that his present locality was an exceedingly unhealthy one, for a man of his burdens and convictions."

The General marched his men to the Mayor's headquarters, having the two prisoners in charge; and immediately steps were taken to prevent, and circumvent, any further deeds of darkness which might be undertaken by the avengers of blood, under the forms and pretence of law. Within an hour all the members of the Citizens' Corps, with the citizens charged in the jury's finding, were collected at the Mayor's headquarters. A wave of excitement and indignation swept over the city as the knowledge of the attempted arrests became general. An hour later that indignation reached a white-heat, when scouts and detectives had succeeded in uncovering the diabolical plans of these men.

The intentions of these pretended executors of law, it was supposed, was to bring a number of the citizens involved in the



mastery of the mob, before the aldermen, and have them committed to jail on the charge of murder, and then carry them in wagons to Wilkes-Barre, the same night, to place them in the jail. The whole way down the valley was known to be in a lawless condition—filled with tramps and worthless, bloody-minded, men, who called themselves workmen and strikers. The first part of the way lay directly through the region where the leaders who had lost their lives in the mob had lived, and where their friends were busy keeping alive the thoughts of vengeance.

Two miles below the city a crowd of these people gathered that night, armed with various implements, and waited for the expected carriages with their loads of prisoners, according to the report of the scouts. But the prisoners did not come. The acting coroner and his advisers had to deal with men to whom their plans were transparent; and while they used all diligence to quiet the indignation, that was in danger of breaking out into bloody work against all strikers, and especially against the demagogues who used them for their nefarious ends, these men girded the city with a cordon of men whose muskets would have made quick work with any number bent on an invasion of the city that night.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE ARREST AND TRIAL OF THE CITY'S DEFENDERS.

The Law-breakers become the Vindicators of Law—Justice run Riot—Change of Base, but no Change of Issues.

ALL night long the Citizens' Corps, with the men who had been wickedly charged, under pretence of justice, were kept in the company's store while their friends watched with them. During the night it was determined that if the alderman's writs were not served in the morning, and an open procedure under forms of law made manifest, the matter should be taken in hand, and the whole body of the defenders of the city, against the mob of August first, should be taken to Wilkes-Barre and placed under the authority of the court.

In accordance with this determination, early on the morning of the 9th of August the following correspondence took place, to wit:

"SCRANTON, August 9th, 1877.

"P. MAHON, ESQ., Acting Coroner.

"DEAR SIR: I am requested by General Huidekoper to say that he is ready at the hour you shall name, this A.M., to deliver to you the parties for whom you have issued warrants on the finding of the jury. Please name the hour, place and persons, and they will promptly respond.

"Respectfully yours,

ROBERT H. MCKUNE, Mayor."

An hour afterwards the following reply came to hand:

"SCRANTON, August 9th, 1877.

"R. H. MCKUNE, Mayor.

"SIR: In reply to yours of this date, informing me that General

Huidekoper says "he is ready at the hour you [I] shall name this morning to deliver to you [me] the parties for whom you [I] have issued warrants on the finding of the jury," I would say that neither General Huidekoper nor any other man in this land has any right to prevent the arrest and commitment of any person found guilty of murder by a coroner's jury, and the constables that have the warrants of commitment for the persons so found guilty of murder will not proceed to act under such warrants until the said Huidekoper and the military under him cease to obstruct them in the performance of their duty.

"Respectfully yours,

P. MAHON,

"Alderman and Acting Coroner."

On the same morning there was published, in the paper which had given itself to the support of this business, the verdict of the jury with a summary of the testimony upon which it was based. To the average mind it would be hard to decide which was the more remarkable, the testimony or the verdict; or which suggested the other. To an honest man seeking the truth, it would be impossible clearly to determine whether the testimony had been taken, and a verdict drawn from it, or the verdict had first been written and the testimony published to fit it. More than a dozen witnesses testified to their being present in view of the firing squad, and most of them among the mob; but none of them saw any violence nor provocation on the part of the people. One club, of some sort, thrown by a boy was all that was visible to these witnesses. They knew nothing of the beating of the Mayor, although all of them saw him in company with the courageous priest. Of the men with guns, however, they had clear vision up to the first volley; after which the witnesses all seemed to grow hazy and uncertain. They testify to seeing men in the ranks who were half a mile away, and knew nothing of the encounter until it was over. One witness even saw Captain Ripple the first day of his testifying, but ere the inquest closed he came back and corrected his testimony with the statement that Ripple was not there; but he does not tell us

how he learned he was not; nor does he even seem to have been asked. Not a witness who knew anything of the doings of the mob seems to have been sworn; but the verdict was quite decided and definite. It announced a three-fold indictment of murder, against twenty-one men, more or less definitely named, and sundry others to the jurors unknown, to wit:—"So the said W. W. Scranton, W. Paterson, William Kiesel, L. C. Bortree, C. W. McKinney, Charles Chittenden, Wharton Dickinson, Ezra Ripple, George Throop, Daniel Bartholomew, one Highfield, A. E. Hunt, T. F. Hunt, John Stanton, F. L. Hitchcock, Lawyer Knapp, J. C. Highriter, J. A. Linnen, Doctor Smith, Jeff. Roesler, Charles Burr, one Brown, clerk or partner in Hunt Brothers & Co., and others to the jury unknown, then and there, feloniously, violently, willfully, deliberately, and of their malice aforethought, killed and murdered the said Patrick Langan, Charles Dunlavy, and Patrick Lane, against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth." To this conclusion the Alderman and his jurors affixed their seals, to wit:—"Patrick Mahon, Acting Coroner, Martin J. Jordan, Foreman, James T. Duffy, James Gregory, James Carroll, Nicholas Gantz and Thomas Coar."

As soon as the Mayor had received the communication from the Alderman, declining to make any further movement toward arresting the accused until the military should leave him a clear field, it was determined to take steps at once to place the young men under the protection of a reliable court. All the force under the charge of Deputy-Sheriff D. O. McCollum, accompanied by a large body of the best citizens of the city, left about noon for Wilkesbarre by special train, escorted by two companies of militia to protect them from the dangers of the way. They arrived in safety, and upon complaint, or formal information, made by Mr. John C. Phelps, one of their friends, they were brought before Alderman W. S. Parsons, who issued warrants for their arrest. They appeared, waived a hearing,

and were committed to the charge of the Sheriff, who allowed them the liberty of the city on parole until the next morning. In the meanwhile application was made to the Judge of the Court for a writ of habeas corpus, returnable the next day. The afternoon of the same day Charles E. Rice, Esq., the District Attorney and afterwards the President Judge of Luzerne County, received the following communication, to wit:

"SCRANTON CITY, August 9th, 1877.

"C. E. RICE, Esq.,

"District Attorney of Luzerne County, Pa.:

"You are expected to see to it that the persons, now on the way to Wilkesbarre to surrender themselves up for the murder of Patrick Lane, Charles Dunlavy and Patrick Langan, be not allowed to escape justice. If they apply for a writ of habeas corpus, you will please send for the witnesses sworn before the Coroner's Jury.

"(Signed)

JOHN E. EVANS,

"Chairman of Workingmen's Prosecuting Committee."

To this Attorney Rice immediately replied by telegraph:

"JOHN E. EVANS,

"Chairman of Workingmen's Prosecuting Committee, Scranton, Pa.:

"Send witnesses down to-morrow morning, at 9 o'clock. Get subpoenas at Alderman Mahon's.

"CHARLES E. RICE,

"District Attorney."

Application was made, as has been stated, to one of the judges for a writ of habeas corpus, which was granted, and made returnable on the next morning, at 9 o'clock, when a hearing should be given them.

On that morning, August 10th, the *Scranton Times*, which at that time claimed to represent the Democratic party, but which had set itself persistently to the work of catering to the evil feeling, and of keeping alive the worst passions of the strikers, came out with the following caution and advice to the Judges of the Court:

"We understand the commitments made out by Alderman Mahon have all been returned to him because of the difficulty with the military in executing the same; and that it is the intention to retain those commitments until such times as each one of the vigilantes charged with the murder of those men can be arrested and lodged in jail, like other felons. God help the Judges in Luzerne County that undertake to treat this matter in any other manner than the law provides. We caution Judges Harding, Dana and Handley to have a care how they move in this matter. We want them to understand, and the corporations too, that there is but one law in this country for the rich and the poor. 'Hell on earth' would be nothing compared to what will take place in this country if the Judges fail to do their whole duty in this matter."

The judges did not appear to be greatly moved by this morning salutation from the demagogue, who wished to be known as the poor man's friend, at least until the approaching election for judge had passed; but called the prisoners to the bar, with a quiet wonder that so large a number of such respectable looking murderers should be gathered into one court at the same time.

The venerable ex-judge W. G. Ward, long the veteran of the Scranton Bar; Isaac J. Post, who for years afterwards was recognized as the leading lawyer of the city; and Edward B. Sturges, a promising young man, who was very popular with the young men, with the Hon. H. W. Palmer, afterwards Attorney-General of the State, and the Hon. Stanley Woodward, afterwards Additional Law-Judge of Luzerne County, both of Wilkesbarre; all appeared as counsel for the Scranton prisoners.

The Court delayed action until almost noon, waiting to hear from the Workingmen's Prosecuting Committee, and for the appearance of the Alderman and his witnesses. But when it became evident that these special preservers of law, and vindicators of justice, did not propose to notice this Court, the case was called by Judge Harding, who, addressing the District Attorney, said: "Mr. Rice, a writ is before me, in which



the parties named desire that the cause of their detention, which they allege to be unjust, may be inquired into, and such order be made as will be in accordance with law and justice. Mr. Sheriff, are the parties named in the writ before the Court?" That officer answered, "They are present."

Judge Ward and Mr. Palmer both asked to be heard for the defendants, but the judge replied: "We can hear no testimony for the defense, only for the prosecution."

Mr. Rice then said, "Your Honor, I have no witnesses; I had notice of this writ yesterday, and was in communication with one John E. Evans, of Scranton, styling himself 'Chairman of the Workingmen's Prosecuting Committee.' I sent subpoenas and notified him of the hearing at this time, but I cannot learn that there are any witnesses present. I understand from the attorney of the defendants, that they are willing to waive a hearing and enter any reasonable bail for their appearance at Court. I would suggest, therefore, that they be put under bail, which shall amount, upon the whole, to \$10,000."

After a few moments' conversation with the attorneys, the judge announced the decision of the Court, that the prisoners "should be severally held in the sum of \$3000 for their appearance at the next term of court, when bills of indictment will be laid before the grand jury."

Judge Harding followed this order with a short address, as follows:

"We have been absent during the late turmoil in this county, and know very little of the facts; but it may as well be understood now as at any other time, by all, that this is a country of law, and the majesty of the law will be maintained. And those misguided men who may momentarily triumph over law, must be made to understand that if we have not the power at home to preserve the peace, the power of the commonwealth will be invoked to assist us. If that should be inadequate, the power of the nation will be brought to bear upon the violators of law

and order, and the punishment to follow will be certain and terrible to the offenders.

"I have no further care or responsibility in this than in any other case that may come before me. I have simply discharged my duty, and these men are here to be dealt with as the law directs. They have complied with the requirements of the law, and they must go hence in peace; and all persons are cautioned against molesting them in the enjoyment of their individual liberty. The magistrate, who was the acting coroner, and the constables holding the warrants for their arrest, as I am informed, should be notified that these parties are now in the custody of the court, to be dealt with as the law directs, and I now repeat, Let us hear no more about this business until the court meets in regular term."

The prisoners were then called upon, one by one, and entered bail. Each, as called, stood at the bar with an approved bondsman by his side, and entered into bonds of \$3000 for his appearance when the court should call for him, and as soon as this work was completed they were all discharged from custody.

There were fifty-three young men placed in these bonds, all of them bearing good characters, and belonging to the best society and business associations of Scranton. The list of these men we preserve here, with the names of their bondsmen, as an interesting historical memento, and a valuable witness of the wide interest felt in the issue which divided the city at the time. Five times the amount of the bail required by the court could have been secured without going outside of the court-room.

The names of the accused and of their bondsmen were as follows:

<i>Prisoners.</i>	<i>Bondsmen.</i>
W. W. Scranton.	Walter Scranton.
Wm. W. Paterson,	A. B. Stevens.
Wm. F. Kiesel,	W. W. Manness.
L. C. Bortree,	Jos. Godfrey.
C. W. McKinney,	W. W. Manness.
Chas. E. Chittenden,	C. H. Welles.

Wharton Dickinson,  
 Ezra H. Ripple,  
 T. F. Hunt,  
 John O. Stanton,  
 F. L. Hitchcock,  
 H. A. Knapp,  
 J. C. Highriter,  
 J. A. Linen,  
 M. D. Smith,  
 Jefferson Roesler,  
 C. S. Burr,  
 J. E. Brown,  
 Ed. C. Mattes,  
 W. D. Manness,  
 R. O. Manness,  
 Arja Williams,  
 George S. Throop,  
 W. H. Storrs,  
 W. McK. Miller,  
 W. K. Logan,  
 J. C. Highfield,  
 George H. Ives,  
 J. G. Lyshon,  
 Geo. H. Maddocks,  
 C. H. Lindsay,  
 E. J. Dimmick,  
 W. B. Henwood,  
 Daniel Bartholomew,  
 E. L. Fuller,  
 Enos T. Hall,  
 John B. Cust,  
 Curtis W. Doud,  
 H. R. Madison,  
 C. H. Swift,  
 Rudolph Bensley,  
 H. Wehrum,  
 Geo. F. Barnard,  
 Samuel H. Stevens,  
 Edward H. Lynde,  
 Marshall J. Moore, Jr.,  
 Denning R. Haight,

W. W. Manness.  
 Wm. Connell.  
 Geo. L. Dickson.  
 W. W. Manness.  
 James Blair.  
 Geo. Sanderson.  
 Chas. A. Stevens.  
 James Blair.  
 D. S. Roberts.  
 E. B. Sherwood.  
 E. C. Fuller.  
 Geo. L. Dickson.  
 J. C. Platt.  
 J. J. Albright.  
 J. J. Albright.  
 J. C. Platt.  
 Jas. Archbald.  
 B. H. Throop.  
 R. T. Black.  
 Sidney Broadbent.  
 W. W. Manness.  
 Jas. Ruthven.  
 E. C. Lynde.  
 Geo. Fisher.  
 H. B. Phelps.  
 Wm. Connell.  
 H. M. Boies.  
 Geo. Fisher.  
 John M. Snyder.  
 J. Gardner Sanderson.  
 J. C. Platt.  
 J. C. Platt.  
 R. T. Black,  
 Geo. L. Breck,  
 C. W. Roesler.  
 E. C. Lynde.  
 H. B. Phelps.  
 L. S. Watres.  
 W. R. Storrs.  
 Jas. Blair.  
 John Raymond.

F. Franschild,  
John Hoffman,  
Wm. M. Ringler,  
John M. Rose,  
John Hennecke,

W. W. Manness.  
J. C. Platt.  
Geo. Sanderson, Jr.  
J. J. Albright.  
Horace B. Phelps.

This list did not include all the men who were in the firing squad, on the 1st of August, and it did include many who could only have been charged as participants after the fact. If all who joined the Citizens' Corps a few minutes after the mob was fired upon, had been included in the accusation, neither the court-house nor jail could have accommodated the prisoners. There were more than five hundred men who were really involved in the decisions of the court. For there were from five hundred to a thousand, who immediately became participants in the resistance to the mob, as soon as the alarm was sounded.

As soon as the prisoners were released they retired in a body to their homes, only to find that the excitement of the city had in no measure abated. The uncovering of the nefarious plot to carry the young men, by night, through a region where there must have been brutal slaughter, under cover of legal forms, had excited the whole people. The great body of the citizens were convinced that the organization of a permanent and sufficient force for the city's protection might be an absolute necessity.

Instead of tracing the immediately succeeding events in their chronological order, it is deemed best to complete the record of this attempt, under pretence of legal forms, and by the cry of justice against the violators of law, to take vengeance upon the men who dispersed the mob upon the 1st of August and saved the city. The emphatic words of Judge Harding, when he dismissed the prisoners under bonds, were rendered the more pointed and forcible by the presence of not only the State militia, but by that of the Third Regiment of

United States Infantry, with a battery, which were sent to Scranton at the request of Governor Hartranft. The demagogues, and ward officials, made no further attempts to lay hands upon the young men who had placed themselves as culprits under the order of the highest court of the County.

When the court met in November, just about three months after the abortive attempt of the "Acting Coroner" to lay hands upon these young men, their case was laid before the grand jury, and an indictment, in form, for manslaughter was returned. This indictment included all who had been placed under bonds. On the 26th Judge Harding called the case, and the whole afternoon was used in the work of securing a jury. The wife of one of the slain men appeared as the prosecutor. The attorney who had in August been a moving and controlling force in seeking to avenge the blood of the workmen, had accomplished a triumph more in accordance with his tastes, and, as was supposed, his real designs. He had been elected additional law-judge, and so retired from this case. Cornelius Smith, Esq., a very worthy and respectable member of the bar, within a few days of the time set for the trial was employed to assist the prosecution. He opened the case with a calm and clear issue. He presented the rights of the workmen to meet and retire from their meeting without molestation; and gave his exposition of the law in terms which the judge himself endorsed. He simply denied that there was a mob in Scranton at the time the men were shot, and hence the shooting could not be justified. Mr. Smith's presentation of the case was clear, manly and worthy of his reputation as a criminal lawyer. Twenty-two witnesses had been subpoenaed and were called, but only six of them responded, and the Court issued attachments for all the delinquents. This act of the Court speedily brought four more witnesses to the stand, and ultimately some six or eight besides. The testimony given was very much a repetition of that which had been given be-

fore the Alderman. It presented distinctly a quiet and harmless crowd of men, women, and children, at the corner of Washington and Lackawanna Avenues, on the 1st day of August, 1877, into which the citizens' police fired; with no other provocation than that of a single club, with which some boy would seem to have struck Lewis C. Bortree. From the Alderman's testimony, as one of the witnesses, it would appear that the Commonwealth came very near losing entirely the benefits of his official vigilance, as well as his coroner's inquest; as he testified that he stood within three feet of the man who fell at the first fire, but saw no demonstrations suggestive of a mob. Scranton, Bortree and McKinney seemed to be the only members of the firing squad which these witnesses recognized with absolute certainty. There were, indeed, but two of the witnesses examined who saw anything in the crowd that indicated violence. One man saw the wounded and bleeding mayor before the squad fired upon the crowd, and another saw what he calls "a few boys driving the men from the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western shops." So the prosecution closed their testimony, leaving the young men clearly guilty of wanton murder if honest men could have believed the witness had told the truth.

Judge Ward, whose office fronted upon the position taken by the Citizens' Corps when the attack was made, upon the 1st of August, then opened the case for the defense. He gave a full and clear statement of the gathering, and the movement of the mob, also of the collision with the police which took place in front of his own office. He detailed graphically the horrors of the day, and the brave coolness and desperate venture of the Mayor and his citizens' police; and closed with the statement that the firing began only when the citizens had no other resort to save the city, and that it ceased as soon as the mob had been dispersed.

Twenty-four witnesses were then produced for the defense.



These included men from all classes and callings in the city, from the Mayor and high professional and business men, to laborers and cartmen. From these witnesses the whole history of the mob and of the unexpected resistance to its demonstrations were presented to the Court with clearness and detail. These witnesses were examined by the Hon. Henry W. Palmer and cross-examined by Mr. Smith. Every essential fact touching the gathering, the action and final dispersion of the mob, which has been recorded in this history, was directly established by eye-witnesses. About noon of the second day the testimony closed, and Mr. Stanley Woodward summed up for the defense.

Mr. Woodward's address was remarkable for its clear interpretation of the law, its logical arrangement and its eloquence in the presentation of facts and conclusions. After complimenting the jury for their patience and attention to the evidence, and calling attention to the great interest, and greater responsibility, of this case, arising from the character and respectability of the defendants, as well as from the points at issue, he proceeded as follows, in the presence of a large body of intelligent citizens both of Wilkes-Barre and Scranton, and was listened to with breathless attention. We preserve the notes of Mr. Woodward's address both because of its fairness and excellence, and because it formed a summary of the history of this trial, in which the peace and authority of law in the region were so strikingly involved.

"This case is a remarkable one," he said, "by reason of the number of the defendants in one indictment, and by their respectability and high personal character. The fact of their high social and personal standing in the community only made the case for the Commonwealth still stronger. When any persons are brought before the criminal bar we expect to see upon them the brand of crime and the signs of a hardened and dissolute life. When, therefore, men eminent for their respectability, and bearing about with them the reputation of honorable lives, whose past career has been that of good citizenship, the presump-

tion is that the motives and principles actuating them in the past are the same which obtain with them to-day, even though charged with the committal of a heinous crime. No jury can shut its eyes and ears to the healthful influence born of good character and reputable life. If these things have no value, if they are to have no weight among men, justice is a farce, and society has no sure foundation.

"These men are charged with the crime ranking next to murder—that of manslaughter, and this, the law tells us, is the unlawful killing of a human being without malice express or implied. The first and natural query is, Was the killing of these men unlawful? This leads to the laying down of the three following propositions: **FIRST.** Was there a riot in the City of Scranton on the first day of August, 1877? **SECOND.** If there was a riot, what rights had all well-disposed citizens to protect their lives and property? **THIRD.** Did these defendants exceed these rights?

"Within these three propositions rests this entire case. If they did not exceed their rights, then there was no manslaughter committed within the meaning of the law.

"**WHAT IS A RIOT?** This must be determined in order that we may prove whether the defendants charged with this high crime were engaged in the exercise of their lawful duty. The laws and penalties in this State affecting this crime are severe and stringent. They are based upon the common law of England, brought over by our forefathers before the State had an existence and while we were yet young as a colony. The earliest authority defines a riot to be the gathering of three or more persons armed with clubs, stones or other weapons, who, to the terror of the people, commit injury upon person or property.

"Another authority declares a riot to be any tumultuous assemblage of three or more persons with evil intent and design, and with arms to terrorize the people, destroy their goods and harm their persons. In the eye of the law all who are present, whether active or passive in the proceedings, are rioters.

"Every man who fails to subdue, or who fails to make the attempt to subdue the riot is a rioter and must take the consequences of his action. Neither does it need previous concert of action to establish the fact of a riot. The law has been laid down, and is clear upon all these points.

"In 1844 occurred the great riot in the City of Philadelphia, and Judge King, in his charge to the Grand Jury, rendered an opinion which has been accepted throughout the land since that day as a recognized definition of riot and rioters. In substance this definition is that

every man who does not array himself on the side of law is a rioter. WHEN RIOT IS RUNNING THROUGH A CITY, THERE CAN be no NEUTRALS; every man must be on one side or the other. He must be for peace or discord. He must be willing to shed his blood for law and order, or be the abettor of lawlessness and destruction. IN BRIEF, IT IS EVEN RIOTOUS TO BE FOUND ON NEITHER SIDE.

"Now, was there a riot at the time indicated? It must be plain to you from the evidence, that this was no peaceful meeting of men for peaceful ends in Scranton on the 1st of August. If it were so, there was and could be no riot. On the contrary, it was an unlawful assemblage, destructive in its tendency, deadly in its purposes. It was a riotous meeting, and every man was a rioter who refused to help to quell it. It may be right at one time to hold a meeting when, under other circumstances, it would be highly improper and unlawful to do so. The circumstances surrounding this case demonstrate the unlawful nature of the meeting of these men on the 1st of August. The riot was rampant all over the land and in their midst. In Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and other cities, and here in Luzerne County, it needed only a spark to ignite the flame. Revolution was in the air; disorder choked the atmosphere; a tidal wave of lawlessness was sweeping over the whole land. Laboring men everywhere had taken the law in their own hands. The railroads were in the possession of the employees, and their trains were stopped. The mail service was dead; communication was cut off; business was suspended; and all this because bold, bad men had control of affairs, and murder, bloodshed and rapine were the instruments used to enforce their assumed rights. We were not used to this usurpation of the law. It was not pleasant. It reversed all our ideas of right, justice, peace and good order.

"The miners resolved to stop work, which they had a perfect right to do. But when they formed a combination to prevent others from working and the mines from operating, they committed a crime. Mayor McKune, in the discharge of his daily duty, *works*. The brave priest who saved his life *labors*, as he ministers to his people in all the relations of life. The physician, as he responds to the call for his healing art, nobly *works*. The farmer, as he tills the soil, and plants, and waters, struggling for his bread, *is a worker*. The lawyer, who gives his time and thought, and passes sleepless nights, in saving for his client his rights to the benefits of his enterprise, earnestly *labors*. The miner, as he delves for the product which warms and comforts us, *is a worker*. All these, and many others, *work, are laborers, and have their rights*. And the good of society demands that they should all work in harmony for the public good.

"The division of labor is the philosophy of life. Any combination of men to prevent any man from earning an honest livelihood commits a crime *against labor*, as well as against society and law. We are taught that a man shall live by the sweat of his brow, and it is right. It is in conformity with the law of God and man.

"ANY CLASS OF MEN, WHO PREVENT, OR ATTEMPT TO PREVENT, MEN REPRESENTING THE SAME CLASS OF LABOR FROM WORKING, ARE GUILTY OF RIOT. Now what was the purpose of this meeting at the silk factory in Scranton on the 1st of August, 1877? As far as the evidence goes, it is conclusively shown that it was to 'clean out the blacklegs,' to 'kill Bill Scranton,' and 'gut the town.'

"By 'cleaning out the blacklegs' was meant the stopping of those men who were willing to work. A meeting held to 'CLEAN OUT BLACKLEGS' IS A RIOT, and this meeting at the silk factory was of that nature. They made good their purpose in their deeds. If they were right, then the converse of the proposition is true, that any number of operators could lawfully combine, and with arms and violence compel the miners to work at any stated price per day. If they should attempt to do so, they would be rioters and conspirators.

"These men, this mob, commenced their work by the declaration, 'Come, boys, let's gut the town; the day is ours.' Frenzied, armed with clubs, stones and pistols, they reached the main street, prepared to execute the plan determined upon at the meeting.

"Preceding this, however, and in anticipation of what should come, the Governor had issued his proclamation calling upon all good citizens to aid in quelling any riot or disturbance which might occur, and, if necessary, to arm themselves for that purpose.

"Mayor McKune had supplemented this proclamation of the Governor with a like call, and under this authority certain citizens of Scranton had signed a paper binding themselves to obey any call made upon them by the Mayor. They did not do this for the purpose of pillage, arson and destruction. It was done in the interests of law and order, and the protection of life and property. If they did it for the purpose of killing Dunlavy and Langan, they should be convicted. The posse was formed and called to quell riot and disturbance. If ever there was an occasion for them, as men and worthy citizens, to perform their duty, this was one. They came out, were attacked with pistols, stones and clubs; they fired, and three men died.

"Now had these citizens any right to protect life and property? No citizen need wait for the Sheriff to act before he can make the attempt to subdue and quell a riot, and protect life and property, even to the death, if it be necessary.

"In this case the posse marched under the authority of the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, and of the Mayor of the city of Scranton to the defense of law, liberty and property.

*"And here let me say that nowhere in the history of any State or city can be found a nobler, braver record than that made by Mayor McKune and this handful of men under his command. THEIR ACTION WAS AS UNSELFISH AS IT WAS HONORABLE.* No man could have shown greater pluck and personal courage than Mayor McKune when he quietly approached that mob, hoping to prevail upon them to return to their duty as good citizens. Yet they gave him no hearing. He was beaten down by those who call themselves laboring men. Had they not been met and checked in their mad career, the city of Scranton would have been in embers. There would have been sacked houses and terrorized people everywhere. The excitement of such an occasion prevents many things from being brought to light; but this one fact we have proved, that the three men who died were shot in the front. It proves their activity and their connection in and with the rest; and being with and of it, they took their chances, and met their death.

"We therefore hold that there was a riot, and that these men here charged were in the full heroic performance of their duties as citizens when this unfortunate result occurred. But the blood of these victims must be upon their own heads."

At the close of Mr. Woodward's address the Court adjourned until the next day, November 27th.

At a few minutes after nine o'clock on the 27th, Mr. Smith addressed the jury for the prosecution. He spoke for nearly two hours, but did not attempt to assail the position taken by Woodward for the defense. He simply attempted to assail the supposed motives and the conduct of the prisoners, as the testimony for the prosecution seemed to present them. At the conclusion of his address Judge Harding gave charge to the jury as follows:

"GENTLEMEN: The defendants here are charged with voluntary manslaughter. It is alleged that they slew, on the first of August last, one Patrick Langan. Counsel for the defendant and counsel for the commonwealth have each in turn made almost exhaustive reference to a case tried before Judge King, in Philadelphia, some years ago, many



of the features of which were closely analogous to those appearing in the present case.

" You have been told that the law laid down in that case must govern this. To a certain extent this is true. Judge King's statement of the law is the correct one. You have farther been told that the jury are judges of both the law and the facts. That is also true; but so far as the present case is concerned it will be expected that the jury will take the law from this court—not from other courts. The jury will remember, too, that this is not the Daley case they are now trying, but the Scranton case—that the former occurred in Philadelphia upwards of thirty years ago, while the latter occurred in the city of Scranton only five months ago—that Matthew Hammits, of Philadelphia, was not the person slain, but Patrick Langan, of the county of Luzerne,—that John Daley is not the person indicted, but Wm. W. Scranton, Lewis Bortree and others—that it is the law applicable to the facts and circumstances connected with this case which must govern in the disposition of it.

" And, gentlemen, I will say, at the outset, that if the facts and circumstances have been truthfully detailed by the commonwealth, then the defendants named in this indictment, excepting Ezra H. Ripple, George S. Throop, A. E. and T. F. Haut, J. C. Highriter and Jefferson Roesler, against whom no testimony has been given, may be convicted of voluntary manslaughter.

" People may assemble together to the number of three, or of thousands, and peacefully discuss the difficulties surrounding them—they may march with music and banners through the streets of our towns and cities, and no person has a right to interfere with or molest, so long as they do not disturb the public peace nor violate individual rights. More than that, though their march be tumultuous, their conduct riotous within the meaning of the penal law, thus rendering them liable to arrest, prosecution, conviction and punishment; still, they are not to be attacked and slain by armed men with impunity. If they are offenders, no matter who they may be, nor what their importance, nor what their standing—social or otherwise—they become liable to arrest, trial and conviction, either of murder of the first degree, or of murder of the second degree, or of voluntary manslaughter, as the circumstances may warrant. To be more explicit: If that mass of people, designated by most of the witnesses as the mob, came up Washington Avenue, on the morning referred to, in the manner described by the several witnesses examined on the part of the commonwealth, and as they turned into Lackawanna Avenue, they were fired upon by the defendants, then, even though the slain man and his associates were engaged in what might be termed a riot, there was no



justification for that firing—no justification for that killing; because, according to this testimony, the riot—if riot it was—was of the mildest conceivable type; it could not therefore, have required murderous force to suppress it. But, gentlemen, we have had two sworn descriptions of the manner of conduct of that multitude, or mob, as it has been called on that day. Which of the descriptions is the correct one? This is the great fact to be determined, and the determination of it is solely for you. It would be idle to deny that there is a wide, even irreconcilable conflict between the testimony on the part of the commonwealth, and that on the part of the defense. It is your province, no matter what may be the views of the court, or the views of the counsel in the case, to believe of the witnesses whom you will, and to disbelieve whom you will. You should, however, examine with care all the testimony presented on the one side and the other; you should weigh it in a just balance; you should find according to your convictions of the truth.

What is the answer of the defendants? It is that on the 1st of August last a large body of men came together within the limits of the city of Scranton, ostensibly for the purpose of discussing the difficulties, real or imaginary, which surrounded them, but really for the purpose of organizing in force, with a view to stop every industry connected with mining or manufacturing in or about that city; that being thus convened, they resolved to go in a body and drive from employment every person engaged about the machine shops and other places of labor belonging to the two great companies of that vicinity; that this resolution passed in the midst of uproar and confusion, they proceeded at once to carry out; that violence, bloodshed and terror marked their path; that, meeting with no adequate resistance, they rushed on beyond the shops towards the chief avenue of the city, proclaiming, as they went, the further purpose of robbery and murder; that they struck down the Mayor, who, in obedience to the mandates of official duty, had bravely interposed himself in their path; they overthrew the civil law outright; that, thereupon the defendants committed the act here charged against them as a high crime.

At this point, gentlemen, more particularly for your own instruction, but incidentally for the hundreds of laboring men within reach of my voice, I will state the law governing their rights. Laboring men, no matter in what capacity, have the right to demand what to them seems a fair compensation for their work, and if that compensation is not accorded they have the right to strike; in other words, to quit work. Again, any laborer who is willing to work for a compensation satisfactory to himself, even though it be less than demanded by his asso-

ciates of the same class, has the right to work; and as the law will compel no man or body of men to work for a price not agreed upon by himself, so the law will not permit any man or body of men to enforce the idleness of others who are willing to work for a price that suits them. Such is the rule wherever civilization extends; such will be the rule as long as civilization lasts.

It is not strange, however, that laboring men should mistake their rights in this particular; it is not strange that cunning, wicked, dangerous demagogues should lead them astray; it has been so in the times past, it is so in times present—demagogues swarm amongst them like bees—and so it will continue, most likely, down to the end of time.

The history of strikes is but a harrowing story of the suffering of the laboring classes. Betrayed through evil advisers into violations of the law, they have languished and died in prisons, and their burial places have been in prison-yards; their children, orphaned, have grown up to early vagabondism and crime.

And yet the teachings of experience seem to go unheeded. The demagogue is as powerful to-day as ever. But the wheel of civilization and good government moves on, nevertheless; it will move on thus till the latest day. The striker, grown into a rioter, may achieve a temporary triumph, but its duration can scarcely be of a day. Law and order are characteristics of our institutions, and no power on earth can supplant them. True enough any law may be changed, but never by violence. The redress for bad laws is the ballot-box. The redress for unsatisfactory officials is likewise the ballot-box. We have recently had an example of the latter in our midst. I may say, however, that no matter who are our officials, the law as it stands will be enforced. It may be changed as I have indicated, but by the bludgeon *never*.

The statute law of our State in regard to riot is as follows:

"*Section 19.* If any person shall be concerned in any riot, rout, unlawful assembly or an affray, and shall thereof be convicted, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and be sentenced to pay a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, and undergo an imprisonment not exceeding two years, or both, or either, at the discretion of the Court. And in case any one is convicted of aggravated riot, the Court may sentence the offender to imprisonment by separate and solitary confinement at labor, not exceeding three years.

"*Section 20.* If any persons riotously and tumultuously assemble together to the disturbance of the public peace, and shall unlawfully and with force demolish, pull down or destroy, or begin to demolish, pull down or destroy any public building, private house, church, meeting-

house, stable, barn, mill, granary, malt-house, or out-house, or any building or erection used in carrying on any trade, or manufacture; or any branch thereof, or any machinery, whether fixed or movable, prepared for or employed in any manufacture or any branch thereof, or any steam engine, or other engine, for sinking, working or draining any mine, or any building or erection used in the conducting the business of any mine, or any bridge, wagon-way, road or track for conveying minerals from any mine, every such offender shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and being convicted thereof, shall be imprisoned by separate or solitary confinement at labor, or by simple imprisonment, not exceeding seven years."

You will observe, gentlemen, that the statute contemplates, first, a riot in the nature of an unlawful assembly, or an affray merely; second, a riot which has the features of aggravation about it, and, third, a riot which is attended with the destruction of buildings or machinery. Now, taking the testimony as presented on the part of the Commonwealth, and the assembly of the first of August last, in the City of Scranton, amounted neither to a riot involving the destruction of buildings or machinery, nor to a riot of an aggravated character; at most, it was but an unlawful assembly. Hence, as I have said already, if this testimony be believed, the defendants, who made an attack upon it from which the death of Patrick Langan resulted, may be convicted in manner and form as they stand charged in this indictment.

The words "riot" and "unlawful assembly," as used in the statute, have a distinct legal signification, thus: Any tumultuous disturbance, having no avowed or ostensible, legal or constitutional object, assembling together of their own authority, and deporting themselves in such a manner as to produce danger to the public peace and tranquillity, and which excites terror, alarm and consternation in the neighborhood, is an "unlawful assembly." To illustrate: If the meeting down at the silk works, where the resolution was passed that all should go in a body and stop the operatives in the machine shops, was truthfully described by the witnesses for the defense, then that meeting was not only an "unlawful assembly," but it was the beginning of an aggravated riot. Every person present was in the eye of the law a principal. In this crime all are regarded as principals until the contrary is shown. Further, if, in carrying out the resolution passed at the silk works, the mob, as it has been called, proceeded to the shops of the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, entered them, struck down those who were employed there, drove them away, surely a riot of a very dangerous and wicked character was in full progress. The law governing the duties

of magistrates and of citizens, when an unlawful assembly threatens the public peace, has been well stated by an eminent jurist whose name has been repeatedly mentioned by counsel in the argument of this case, Judge King, of Philadelphia, now deceased.

Such an assembly may be dispersed by a magistrate whenever he finds an order of things existing which calls for interference in the interest of the public peace. He is not required to delay action until the unlawful assembly ripens into an actual riot. He has the right to arrest the offenders, or to authorize others to do so, by a verbal command, without any other warrant whatsoever. He may invoke the aid of every citizen present, and they are bound to respond to his requisition. Indeed, if he fails to do his utmost for the suppression of such an assembly, he may himself be indicted and convicted of a criminal misdemeanor. I repeat, an unlawful assembly ripening into a riot should be crushed out at once by all lawful means; because, if suffered to continue, destruction, ruin, death, are almost certain features of its pathway. It is like the snow-ball that we rolled to a declivity in our boyhood, small at first, but rolling on unrestrained, it soon acquired huge proportions and bore down everything before it.

"Again, gentlemen, when an actual riot is at hand, when its more dangerous form has been put on, and life and property are threatened, more decisive measures may be adopted. Citizens may of their own authority lawfully endeavor to suppress it. They may arm themselves, and whatever they honestly and reasonably do in their efforts to suppress it will be supported and justified by the law. A riotous mob is the most dangerous thing on the face of the earth. Of all animals under the sun, men running mad are the worst in their fury.

"Now, gentlemen, what was the real condition of affairs at Scranton on the first of August last? You must find an answer to this from the testimony alone—from no other source. The showing on the part of the Commonwealth was full, clear, and to the point. If you are satisfied of its correctness beyond reasonable doubt, then I have already instructed you as to your duty in the premises. If, on the other hand, the testimony adduced for the defense leads you to view the occurrences of that morning in a different light,—or, in other words, if that testimony raises in your minds a reasonable doubt of the guilt of the accused, that is to say, a doubt springing from a fair and full consideration of the testimony on both sides,—then all of the defendants named in the indictment are entitled to an acquittal. I refer in brief to the testimony of the defense. All of the witnesses on that side give us substantially the same history. On the morning of the first of August last, hundreds of men who were on

a strike, as it is called, assembled at the silk works, in the city of Scranton. They passed a resolution to go in force and stop all work at the machine shops near at hand. They rushed to one of these shops and drove away all who were employed there, inflicting serious personal violence upon some, and threatening and terrifying others. They went to another shop and enacted like outrages there. Their number, now greatly increased by women and boys, was such that universal terror and alarm seemed abroad in that city. They constituted a howling, yelling, apparently irresistible and wicked mob. Having accomplished the purpose of their resolution passed at the silk works, they approached the main avenue of the city. Above the common roar always incident to such a mob were heard the words, 'Let us go for Bill Scranton!' 'We will have his blood!' 'Let us go for Lackawanna Avenue!' 'To the Company's stores—we'll gut 'em!' At this juncture the Mayor, a bold, brave man, appeared. He did nothing more than his duty, but he well did all of that. Few gentlemen would have had the nerve to do what he did. Unaided, unarmed, alone, he met that wild, maddened, surging mass. He commanded, besought them to disperse. They attacked him, beat him, bruised him, imperilled his life. Fortunately, though felled to the ground once or twice, he was able to rise each time, otherwise the life would have been trampled out of him. Supported by two of his aids who had hastened to his rescue, and by a friend in the person of a priest, a noble and fearless man, the Mayor reached Lackawanna Avenue, where, bleeding and wounded though he was, he was again set upon by one of the rioters, a stalwart man, who dealt him a blow that broke his jaw. Here he was met by thirty or forty special policemen or *posse*, as they have been called, whom with commendable prudence he had selected and sworn to aid him in the preservation of the public peace but a few days before, and whose presence at that particular juncture was the result of an order that he dispatched to them hardly an hour previously. The *posse* was assailed with clubs; missiles thrown at them filled the air; a pistol-shot fired from the crowd struck one of them. The Mayor gave an order to fire. That order was obeyed. Lackawanna Avenue was saved—the Company's stores were saved. That wild crowd melted away—dispersed at once. The public peace was restored.

"Gentlemen, the credibility of the witnesses, the defendants' witnesses I mean, who gave the history of that day's occurrences as thus briefly stated, is for you to decide. If you are satisfied that it is the true history, then most certainly there ought not to be a conviction of any of the defendants named in this indictment. If it is the true history, the city of



Scranton was fortunate in having for her chief officer on that day Robert H. McKune, one of the few Mayors of the cities of Pennsylvania who, in the almost general troubles of the times, manfully stood up for law and order. If it is the true history, the city of Scranton was fortunate that the Mayor's *posse* was composed of just such men as W. W. Scranton, Lewis Bortree, and their associates. If it is the true history, these defendants, I repeat, are entitled to a general finding of not guilty. The case is now with you.

C. E. Rice and Cornelius Smith for Commonwealth.

W. G. Ward, Stanley Woodward and H. W. Palmer for defense.

At half-past eleven o'clock, A.M., the jury retired, and at precisely twelve they returned to announce their verdict of "NOT GUILTY."

A jury was immediately drawn upon the second and third indictments against the prisoners, and after being sworn under direction of the Court, without leaving their seats, returned verdicts of NOT GUILTY, on both indictments, upon the statement of the district attorney that he had no evidence to offer against the prisoners save that which had been offered in the trial before.

Half an hour afterwards the young men and their friends returned by special train to the city in quiet triumph. So ended the attempt to secure a legal recognition of the lawless mob of August 1st, 1877, and to take legal vengeance upon the men who saved the city at so small an expense of human life. Thus the brave stand of fifty young men, who dared to meet the thousands of law-breakers with deadly precision, and rescue legal authority at the risk of their own lives, became a precedent for the future of the Commonwealth, and taught the ignorant and the vicious alike that the life and liberty of the individual must be held sacred against all assailants, whether they be thieves, assassins and communists, or whether they be worthy working men suffering under grievances and injustice which the law is impotent to redress.



## CHAPTER IX.

## ORGANIZATION AND MUSTER OF THE GUARD.

The Mob Produces Fruits by the Legal Tree—The Dragon's Teeth Sown in the Fields of Legal Prosecution Sprout into a Beautiful Harvest.

IT will be necessary now to go back to the point where the aims and intentions of the Alderman's inquest were yet in uncertainty, in order to take up intelligently and present chronologically the thread of this history.

The sense of relief, from the arrival of the militia of the National Guard, on the 2d of August, continued while the conduct of the lawless element and the signs of evil omen every night, kept the people still mindful of undefined dangers. The attempts to set fire to valuable property, and the attacks upon the trains on the outskirts of the city on all sides, impressed both the young men and the citizens generally with the fact, that even the ending of the strike could hardly secure the peace and safety of the city with the present condition of passion and population.

The farmers were helpless and intimidated in the country, and without question made a virtue of necessity; giving of their produce to strikers and tramps alike, whatever they called for. The trains on the Lackawanna & Bloomsburg Division, and on the Lehigh and Susquehanna Railroads were attacked with stones and sometimes with bullets, almost every night. On the 8th of August the engineer on the Bloomsburg train saw, when about two miles from the city, what he supposed to be a woman lying across the track. He stopped his train;

and just as he did so a bullet went whistling through his hat; and he found the obstruction was merely a dummy, placed there to stop the train and give the assassin a chance for a deadly shot.

Different members of the citizens' company received mysterious warnings of coming vengeance, which grew constantly bolder and more open. At last on the afternoon of the 7th, a miscreant approached a member of the firing squad, who had carried a musket through the four years of the rebellion, and tauntingly assuring him that he was "a marked man," struck him in the face with an open palm. The soldier happened to be a dentist by profession, and with the coolest of replies, that his assailant should also have the honor of being "a marked man," he extracted a few of the strikers' front teeth with his clenched fist. This put an end to all open taunts; but the angry passion visibly burned; and the young men began seriously to discuss both the necessity and the propriety of organizing a permanent independent military company.

On the morning of August 7th the following paper was drawn up and circulated for signatures. The paper was first addressed to the "Hon. George Sanderson, president; Hugh M. Hannah, secretary; A. C. Konarson, Julius Sutto, Julius Kramer, John Raymond, J. W. Garney, Dr. Hollister, H. B. Rockwell, Thomas Phillips, C. W. Roesler and others of the citizens' meeting," which had so fully endorsed the firing upon the mob the day after the riot. It was afterwards simply addressed to the citizens generally. The paper was as follows, to wit:—

"We, the undersigned, members of the Mayor's specials, are willing and desirous to effect a permanent military organization for the protection of the lives and property of our citizens, and the maintenance of law and order within our city limits; providing we can secure the permanent support, moral and pecuniary, of our law-abiding citizens. Also providing we can do so without being made liable to general military

duty: not from want of interest in the general prosperity of our State and Connty; but because the various business callings would prevent it. Our families are dependent upon our labor and presence for support and protection. We invite the immediate attention of your committee to this matter, which, if considered favorably, will result in the organization alike honorable and useful to our city."

This paper was on that day signed by one hundred and eighteen of the best young men then in the city.

In the evening of that day the young men who had signed this paper; with a large number of older citizens, gathered at the company's store, where the Mayor still kept his headquarters, and a meeting was organized which was called a meeting of citizens. Henry M. Boies was chosen chairman, and Charles R. Smith secretary. The paper with its signatures was read and inquiry was made as to what response had been made by the men of property. Mr. H. A. Kingsbury reported that assurances had been received from Dr. B. H. Throop, of his co-operation; that he had already taken the matter in hand, and had given his convictions that the citizens generally would support the movement to organize an independent military company. The meeting then entered into a discussion of the question whether an organization should be attempted on an independent basis, or a company be formed to be mustered into the State service. F. L. Hitchcock and some others expressed the conviction that an organization could not be legally effected without being mustered into the service of the State. And a committee of four lawyers was appointed to investigate and report on that question at a subsequent meeting. This committee consisted of F. L. Hitchcock, H. M. Hannah, I. J. Post and H. A. Knapp.

Another committee consisting of A. Bryson, Jr., J. E. Brown and E. H. Ripple was appointed on military organization. A committee of five, consisting of H. M. Boies, J. A. Linen, H. A. Kingsbury, E. H. Ripple and James E. Brown was ap-

pointed on finance. A committee consisting of W. W. Scranton, James Ruthven and A. W. Dickson, was appointed to call on General Osborne, and inquire what arrangement could be made to secure the use of state arms for such an organization. Also a committee consisting of Dr. S. C. Logan and H. M. Boies, was appointed on the securing of an armory.

Deputy Sheriff Bortree was requested to investigate a certain reported drilling of armed workmen at different points in and about the city. After which the assembly adjourned to meet on the evening of the 10th in the same place.

This movement for a military organization was greatly facilitated by the arrival on the 6th. of seven companies of United States troops, with a company of the 3d United States Artillery. This body was 280 strong, under command of Col. Henry A. Morrow. Also by the grand parade and military review of the 7th division of the National Guard of Pennsylvania, on Lackawanna Avenue, by General Huidekoper and staff on the 7th. The people generally were greatly interested in the pageant, and felt grateful for the security afforded by the presence of these troops. Thus public opinion began to drift towards a permanent organization of the young men.

But the property owners, and the more conservative citizens, felt that great danger lurked in that path. They feared an alienation might be perpetuated between the laborers and the property owners, if these young men should be put in the permanent position of readiness to control all movements of strikers with guns, which it had been demonstrated were dangerous.

This question of the organization of a military company had just begun to be considered, when the whole matter was arrested by the revelation of the plans of the Coroner's Court, for the arrest of the members of the Citizens' Corps, and by the consequent excitement, which the dangers to which the young men were exposed had brought to the whole city. The

dangers of the lawless spirit, when it proposes to clothe itself with legal forms, or when it poses itself as the minister of justice, are not to be successfully met by military force alone. When Satan puts on the garb of an angel of light it will not do to strip him of his stolen garments in the darkness or in the night-time. Wisdom demands that he shall be brought into the broad light of the day, when the light itself will do the work of truth and justice. By the arrest of the men charged with murder, the thought and energies of the whole city were turned towards securing their safety and the preservation of the law to its true mission, as a terror to the evil-doer and a praise to them that do well.

The whole respectable portion of the city turned its attention to the process by which these young men sought to become free, by placing themselves under bonds as prisoners responsible to the law, for their experiments with explosive forces on the first of August in the public avenues of the city.

There were more than a hundred of the best citizens of Scranton who accompanied the young men as friends when they were taken under the military guard to be placed in the hands of the Court of Luzerne County. All the large property owners were either present or represented, and all classes of law-abiding citizens were included. The demonstration was in no sense a movement of the corporations. It had nothing to do with the differences between these corporations and their workmen. In the crowd, that proposed to see what the Courts might do with the men who had saved the city, were merchants and mechanics, professional men of all liberal professions, pastors, doctors, lawyers, bankers and business men in all walks in life, from the local expressman to the builders of the steam engines.

As the smoke of the conflict had lifted and passed away, and the citizens and property owners had been able to consider the facts without passion, and the circumstances without prejudice,

they had come to an almost universal conviction of the heroic and righteous action of the Mayor, and the young men. Grateful for what had been done in the exigency of the city's exposure, the honest and intelligent citizens determined to stand with and protect the young men and Mayor to the end, whatever might be the cost.

After the Court had dismissed the young men with their bondsmen, the whole body returned by way of Kingston on a special train. During the times of delay, and when on the train, the whole situation was earnestly-discussed by the elder men of the company. Captain Ripple, F. L. Hitchcock, H. M. Boies and Dr. Logan, used the whole time of the transit pressing upon the men of means and influence their convictions of the propriety and necessity for a military organization, both for the protection of the city and of the young men themselves. The conviction soon became general that the young men, now known by everybody as connected with the firing squad, could with difficulty be protected from the attempts of the assassins, and Molly Maguires, which the unabated passion of the strikers and the continuance of the strike still permitted to find refuge in and about the city. It was deemed best, and indeed the only present way of safety, to keep the company together at night as far as possible. The young men could attend to business during the day, as long as the military protection furnished by the Governor should continue; but at night it was not deemed safe for them to walk about the city alone, or to remain at their homes without protection. But even this appeared impracticable and deleterious to good habits, unless they should be organized and placed under military training. As the result of the consultation on the homeward train, every citizen who was approached gave assurances of his readiness to give all proper encouragement and support to the effort to organize a military guard for the city. Such a guard as should prove the city's real defense against all the general disturbances



to which it must be liable, as long as such organizations of opposition between the corporations and employes should continue.

On the 10th of August, the evening to which the citizens' meeting of the 7th stood adjourned, a large body of young men gathered at the Company's store, ready to listen to the reports of the various committees which had been appointed, and to take any proper action which might be suggested looking towards a military organization. Mr. Boies called the meeting to order, and Mr. William A. Duer, who had served in the navy under his kinsman, Admiral Dupont, introduced Lieutenant-Colonel Morrow, of the Thirteenth Regt. Regulars, commanding the United States troops, now encamped on the hill east of Clay Avenue, in the city. Colonel Morrow addressed the young men on the subject of military organization with great acceptance, advising them to organize as a company under the state law, and by diligence and discipline to make the best company of the National Guard.

He generously offered all help that he could give towards the organization and drilling of such a company. He was responded to by Chairman Boies, who returned the thanks of the young men for the colonel's kind offer of his help to set the company fully on its feet when organized. By invitation of the chairman, the meeting was also addressed by the Rev. A. A. Marple, by F. L. Hitchcock and others, all of whom advised organization as speedily as possible.

The committees appointed on the 7th were then called upon, and reported on the several subjects referred to them. Mr. Hannah, from the committee on the legal questions involved, reported that it would be impossible to organize an independent company under the laws of the State, and to organize under the law authorizing a "Coal and Iron Police" would restrict such organization entirely to the services of the particular coal and iron company under which it might

be enrolled. It was then determined by unanimous vote to organize under the State law, as part of the National Guard of Pennsylvania, if the organization could be accepted as a separate company.

Mr. Hitchcock, from the committee on military organization, stated that he had learned from the Governor, whose headquarters were in a train on the track in front of the store at the time, that there was room for one company of fifty in the National Guard of Pennsylvania of this corner of the State. But it was found that we had already enrolled more than a hundred. He was then requested to call upon the Governor and learn if two companies could not be accepted. During his absence on this mission Andrew Bryson, Jr., reported further from the same committee recommending, FIRST, the organization of a battalion of three or more companies of fifty men in each; SECOND, that these companies be armed with regular United States, Springfield, breech-loading muskets; first, because they are deemed as good as any rifle now in use, and, second, because they could be furnished by the State, and so diminish greatly the expense to the city; THIRD, for uniform the committee recommended *the regulation United States Army uniform*, with cap of either army or navy pattern, and : with the same color as the coat; FOURTH, as a name for the battalion, when organized, the committee suggested, "THE SCRANTON CITY GUARD."

This report was accepted and adopted, subject to any modifications which might be suggested by the Governor, who was yet to be heard from.

The committee on finance reported that on account of the exciting and absorbing events of the last two days, nothing had been done, and asked to be continued, which was done.

Mr. Ruthven, from the committee on arms, reported that he had obtained from General Osborne an order to Colonel Lewis, in this city, to collect the rifles then at Providence,

which were left by the disbanding of a company there recently, and that these guns could be obtained at any time, when a place for their safe-keeping could be secured.

Dr. Logan, from the committee on armory, reported that this committee had quietly visited most of the vacant rooms and public buildings and halls of the city, and had been surprised to find how many of them, by reason of weakness of structure and by regulations of insurance companies, were entirely unsuitable for armory or drill purposes. There were places which might be secured ; but these were places whose unfitness were apparent to the inexperienced eyes of the committee itself. The conclusion of the committee was that we would be shut up to one of two alternatives : either to get possession of the First Presbyterian Church, which had originated, or served about all the good things in the city, in the last twenty years, or else go into camp and build a fort for the company. This report the secretary of the meeting records in the minutes as "Some amusing and effective remarks," and the committee was continued.

It may be here recorded that this committee did continue. Indeed, it may be said to be in existence still, as it was never discharged. And although it suffered much badgering and criticism, in after times, it persevered until a suitable armory, free of debt, and a permanent income sufficient to keep it in repair, was provided for the Scranton City Guard, which was then about to be organized.

While this report on armory was being discussed, Mr. Hitchcock returned from his conference with the Governor, and reported that the Governor would accept, and muster into the State service a battalion of four companies, of forty men each, which would give them a Major in command. But he would not advise them to attempt to enroll so large a body. It was immediately resolved that an attempt should be made to organize the four companies. Various expedients were

resorted to to divide the men already enrolled, and to equalize the companies by voluntary changes of the men themselves ; but all the attempts ended in difficulties which could not be overcome. At length Dr. Logan submitted the following proposition, which was adopted with entire unanimity, to wit :—" That E. H. Ripple, A. Bryson, Jr., James E. Brown and R. B. Merriam be appointed, each with a separate paper, to enroll men for a single company each. That they report their success in this enrollment at a meeting to be held to-morrow night, when any equalizing of the four companies which may be necessary shall be done ; first, by voluntary choice of the men ; and second, by lot."

Upon the passage of this measure the meeting immediately adjourned, to meet on the 11th at 7 P. M., in the same place. The work of enrollment was immediately begun by these designated gentlemen, and was carried on all through the next day, with the help of those who had gathered under each separate standard.

On the evening of the 11th the four enrolling officers were ready, and as soon as the house was called to order, made their report, reading the names of all who had signed their separate rolls. The following order, presented by F. L. Hitchcock, was then adopted, to wit :—" That the several companies as enrolled form immediately in separate parts of the room, in line ; that they each then and there choose a president and secretary ; that when so organized, an opportunity be given for the men to change into the several companies as they may wish, provided that no company shall have more than forty men, until all the companies have that number. That when such changes have been effected, each company shall at once enroll on the blanks prepared for mustering into State service ; and that a meeting of each company be held on Monday night next, at such place as may be selected, for the informal election of permanent officers ; and the officers

so chosen shall proceed to recruit their companies to the required standard, and drill the same."

This order was immediately carried out, and each company organized by the election of a chairman and secretary, and then adjourned, to meet in the company's store on Monday evening, August 13th, at 7 o'clock.

On the evening appointed the battalion met at the company's store, and each company proceeded to elect its own officers under its own president and secretary. The first election resulted in the choice of Henry A. Coursen for Captain; James E. Brown, First Lieutenant, and Louis A. Watres, Second Lieutenant.

The second company elected Andrew Bryson, Jr., Captain; Henry A. Knapp, First Lieutenant, and Edward J. Smith, Second Lieutenant.

The third company elected Ezra H. Ripple, captain; James A. Linen, first lieutenant; and Fred. L. Hitchcock, second lieutenant.

The fourth company elected R. B. Merriam, captain; Daniel Bartholomew, first lieutenant; and William Kellow, second lieutenant.

The committee on armory then reported that the use of the hall over the Second National Bank had been secured for a time for the use of the battalion, and an adjournment was immediately ordered to take possession of it.

This was the first march of the four companies together. As soon as possession was taken the proposition of Mr. W. W. Winton, to allow this hall to be used for a year, at a rental of four hundred dollars, was brought before the meeting and respectfully declined.

It was, however, decided to retain the hall until other arrangements could be made. It was then agreed that the order and rank of the companies should be determined by lot, and that Mr. Boies should continue as president of the battalion

until the organization should be mustered into service and a commander elected. The lot was prepared by writing the first four letters of the alphabet on slips of paper, which were placed in a hat. These were drawn out by the captains as follows: Captain Ripple drew D; Captain Merriam, B; Captain Bryson, A; and Captain Coursen, C, and the companies immediately took the name and position in line which these letters assigned them. The ranking captain was authorized to act as Major until a major should be chosen, and to appoint an Adjutant to act until an adjutant should be commissioned. Captain Bryson, as acting Major, immediately appointed Charles R. Smith, of Company D, temporary Adjutant, after which the battalion was dismissed and ordered to meet at the hall at eight o'clock on Tuesday evening, August 14th.

At eight o'clock, on the 14th of August, 1877, the battalion of four companies, A, B, C and D, met under command of Captain Bryson; and as soon as the papers could be completed correctly, they were mustered into the service of the State of Pennsylvania as a part of the National Guard, under the title of "The Scranton City Guard." This mustering in was done by Major Espy, of General Osborne's staff. The officers, as chosen by the several companies, were sworn in, and in due time received their commissions. They were then authorized to elect a major, under the presidency of Captain Bryson. Henry M. Boies, who had presided at the first and second meetings which led to the organization of the four companies, and had then joined his family at the seashore, was elected major, with general good feeling.

Mr. Boies had received a military training, in some measure, while a member of the Ellsworth Zouaves, just at the opening of the civil war, but had been prevented by family obligations from enlisting when so many of these Zouaves marched to the front. He was, therefore, without satisfactory experience for such a command, according to his own judgment. He could





*Wm. Wells.*



readily discern the difficulties and responsibilities of the position, and felt a very great reluctance to the undertaking. But the leading citizens of the city, and his more intimate friends in the battalion, had much more confidence in his fitness and ability than he had himself. Headed by Colonel Morrow, of the United States Army; who had taken great interest in the organization, and was unceasing in his efforts to make it an efficient force in the public service, these citizens and friends pressed upon Mr. Boies the acceptance of the command. After eight days of hesitancy and consideration, Major Boies yielded to the wish of his friends, and the choice of the battalion; and on the 21st of August called the officers together at his business office on Wyoming Avenue. After a careful consideration of the condition of affairs and of the immediate necessities of the Guard, he announced his acceptance of the position; and began at once to make arrangements for completing the organization, and for the equipment of the battalion.

A committee was appointed to secure drill-rooms for two of the companies which had not yet been able to find such a place. Another committee was directed to organize a band, or drum corps. Lieutenant Hitchcock was sent to Harrisburg to secure arms and accoutrements. It was also decided to order uniforms for all the men from Evans & Co., of Philadelphia, whose representative was then in the city, and offered to uniform the whole battalion within ten days.

A request was sent to Colonel Morrow to allow sergeants of his command to drill the companies with two daily company drills, each company to drill over the Iron Company's store, using the rifles there stored in turn. Thus the Scranton City Guard began to take form and life. Thus began its upward and onward march.

## CHAPTER X.

## EQUIPMENT, DRILL AND GUARD DUTY.

Still Facing the Mob—Search for the Sinews of War—The Organization Armed and on its Feet—Company Rolls.

FROM the time of the first meeting of the citizens, when the question of securing a permanent military organization for the protection of the city against the disorders incident to the times, was discussed, the subject of the necessary pecuniary outlay involved, was, more or less, considered. The thoughtful men in the city looked upon this burden as the most difficult to manage. The strike had deranged all kinds of business in the valley. The strain, upon men of means, and upon all manufacturing companies, as well as upon the business of mining and iron manufacturing, in which so much capital was involved, had been, and continued to be, fearful. The outlook thus far was entirely unpromising. The question with every business man, when the matter of sustaining a military guard was presented, was, not what sacrifices he might be willing to make for the public good; but whether his ventures could possibly weather the storm; or his business standing be maintained in the city. There were no signs of relief from any quarter, and as long as the strike should continue no one expected such signs. The earnings of 30,000 workmen, paid out every month, by the great corporations, and which were almost entirely expended in the community, had suddenly and entirely ceased. The smaller factories were producing nothing which could be furnished for the market,

if purchasers could be found; while the price of living was constantly on the rise. The great body of the people were unable to contribute any amount for the equipping of a battalion of soldiers; and the young men who had volunteered, were, least of all, able to equip themselves, as well as to give their services to the State without pay.

The citizens' meeting on the 3d of August which so fully endorsed the action of the Mayor, and of the citizens' corps, did, indeed, promise both pecuniary and moral support in all legitimate efforts to secure the protection of the city. But their action did not contemplate such an exigency or such an outlay as the organization and equipment of four full companies of soldiers, as a permanent institution of the city, involved. But as soon as the matter began to be considered, Dr. B. H. Throop and Mr. H. A. Kingsbury were appointed to test the question of the pecuniary support which might be relied upon. The Doctor, always public-spirited and benevolent, started a subscription with a generous contribution of his own; and undertook to circulate it himself. For a time he met with cheering success, but very soon came to the conclusion that this kind of work did neither accord with his taste, nor promise such a degree of success as to encourage him to continue his efforts.

About the time the meeting of the officers, called by Major Boies on the 21st, had closed its sitting, and the order had been given to have all members of the battalion measured for the uniforms ordered; this question of funds, to meet the expenses, appeared to the Major and his associates, in its true proportions. To those who knew the circumstances of most of the people, there was little of promise in this direction. He at once called Mr. Kingsbury, Dr. Throop and Dr. Logan in consultation. The result of that consultation was the calling of a mass meeting of citizens, in the Opera House, two days later, to consider and act upon the necessities of the case. The

call for this meeting of citizens appeared in the "Republican," on the morning of the 23d, as follows:—

"TO THE CITIZENS OF SCRANTON.

"ATTENTION, GENTLEMEN!—

"At a meeting of the law and order loving citizens of Scranton, on the 2d of August, resolutions were unanimously adopted, recognizing the obligations of the city to the Mayor's 'special police,' constituted of our brave young men who met and dispersed the mob on the first instant, and kept the city in safety until the troops arrived. The undersigned then and afterwards were appointed a committee to circulate a paper endorsing and encouraging any effort to organize a permanent military force for the protection of the city, pledging the signers to such co-operation and support as might be needed to properly furnish and equip it under the laws of the State. We have prosecuted with energy this work, and are now ready to report. Four military companies have been organized of the very best young men of our city, and are required by the Governor to be mustered for inspection on the 11th of September next. No time is to be lost; your committee has gone as far as they can without further instructions. We therefore call a meeting of all law and order loving citizens of Scranton, at the Academy of Music, on Friday evening, the 24th instant, at half past seven o'clock, to hear the report of the committee and take such action as the exigency requires. Signed,

"B. H. THROOP.

"S. C. LOGAN.

"H. M. BOIES.

"H. A. KINGSBURY.

*Scranton, Aug. 22, 1887.*

In accordance with this call a number of the citizens met at the opera house, on the evening of the 24th of August. The meeting was not large, but it was very earnest. It was called to order by Dr. Throop, and was organized by the election of Dr. Logan, Chairman, and Charles Arthur, M.D., Secretary. Messrs. James Blair, Edward Merrifield, A. G. Gilmore, Geo. W. Fritz, Dr. Throop, Dr. R. A. Squire and Rev. A. A. Marple were made Vice-Presidents. Mayor McKune being present, was invited to a seat on the platform, and was received with enthusiastic cheers as he came forward to take it.



Dr. Throop made a report of the steps he had taken in circulating a subscription. He said five days before he had started with a paper to test the earnestness of the people in support of this city guard, which had then been definitely organized, and he had secured nine hundred and fifty dollars on the subscription, and found himself about ready to give it up, as it was certain that three thousand dollars must be raised, if the guard was placed in marching order. He knew of no way to proceed except for those who had subscribed to increase their subscriptions, as the field was so narrow. He closed with an earnest appeal on this behalf, and agreed to double his own subscription.

The Doctor's report was followed by spirited and earnest addresses by the Chairman, by Major Boies, by A. G. Gilmore, A. W. Dickson, E. N. Willard, C. F. Mattes and L. C. Bortree all of whom agreed to increase their subscriptions from twenty-five to a hundred dollars. The majority of the gentlemen present seemed to have already subscribed, but all expressed a most hearty approval of the effort and a readiness to increase their subscriptions, as far as able. The matter was taken up practically, and five hundred and fifty dollars were added to the subscription before the meeting adjourned, making it fifteen hundred dollars. This was just one-half of the estimated amount needed to meet the expenses already incurred, or which must be incurred before the guard is ready for inspection. A committee, consisting of Dr. Logan, E. N. Willard, Esq., and A. G. Gilmore was appointed to take charge of this subscription, and push it to the required amount. The meeting showed its appreciation of Major Boies' acceptance of the command of the guard and of the steps already taken by very enthusiastic cheers when he arose to speak, and the generous citizens gave every desired assurance of both moral and pecuniary support of the battalion. When this meeting adjourned all felt confident of speedy success, notwithstanding the strin-

gency of the times. The Major and the Board of Officers were encouraged to go forward in the work of equipping the battalion, with the confidence that the business men of the city would certainly sustain them.

The committee appointed immediately set about the work of completing the subscription. Mr. Gilmore agreed to act as treasurer, while the chairman and Mr. Willard gave themselves to the work of solicitation. Within a very few days this committee raised the sum of twenty-four hundred and fifty-eight dollars from the citizens of the city. They also received assurances from the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, and the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railway Company, through their officials, of sufficient help to put the guard in full equipment. The character of the citizens' subscription emphasized most strikingly the stress of business in the city at the time, as well as indicated the great loss that had fallen upon the people through the derangement caused by the strike. Perhaps few subscriptions ever more fully tested the true benevolence and patriotic spirit, and enlisted more generally the hearty interest of the citizens. A synopsis of it may preserve a picture of the times, although little conception can be formed by generations afterwards of the amount of self-denial and real patriotism it exhibits.

There were seven subscriptions, of one hundred dollars each, and five of fifty dollars each. All the rest were for smaller sums, running from one dollar to forty, except that of Alfred Hand, Esq., who gave one hundred and fifty dollars, which was the largest subscription on the paper. It is possible that the fact that he had been compelled, by his condition of health, to be entirely away from the depressing influences, and out of sight of the derangement of business, enabled him to hold his place as a generous leader in public contingencies, in this case also. The depression, perplexity and absolute bondage of business

men, and the oppression of all classes of respectable people, by reason of the strike and wicked stopping of the industries of the valley were simply intolerable.

The sufferings of miners and laborers were indeed many and great, and daily grew more severe, through their foolish persistence and their listening to and following demagogues, who had nothing to lose. But the strikers carried down with them a host of the best business men of the community, wherever their blind strike stopped the wheels of industry. The soliciting committee were profoundly impressed with the self-sacrificing patriotism of the people who pledged their purse, as well as personal influence, to place the city in a condition of security against lawlessness. This outlay of twenty-five hundred dollars was indeed but the beginning of the burden that was to be taken up at that time; but to the honor of the people it should be recorded, that they never laid it down until the City Guard had been placed on a sure and permanent basis.

On the 23d day of August, two days after he had signified his acceptance of the position to which he had been called with such unanimity, both by the soldiers and citizens, Major Boies issued his first military order, which afforded general satisfaction; the spirit of which he carried out with great perseverance. Indeed this order gave cast to the whole work of the battalion, and had much to do with determining the character and position which the organization speedily attained in the community. It was as follows:

" HEADQUARTERS BATTALION SCRANTON CITY GUARD, }  
August 23d, 1877. }

" *General Order No. 1:*

" *First:*—Deeply sensible of the serious nature of the trials to which the free institutions of our country are now being subjected; that liberty can only be preserved to all by the quick and sure restraint of license; that freedom must be maintained by force, if necessary; that upon the disciplined and armed military force of every nation must depend the security and permanence of its government in times of trial; and that it

is the paramount duty of every good citizen, especially of this country, to be prepared, when it is needed, to give his Government his most efficient military service,—we have organized this battalion. As soldiers, we can have no interests or sympathies with any class in the discharge of our duty. We are to simply and firmly support the proper representatives of our Government and obey their orders. Our first lessons must be in the principles of implicit obedience to our superiors in rank, and in acquiring the strictest discipline.

"You have elected me your Commandant, and I have not felt at liberty to decline the honor. I shall expect and require from you while discharging the responsible duties of the command all the respect and obedience due the Major of the Battalion, and which the Major in turn must render his superior officers. Patient and persistent drill are necessary to render you efficient, and while undergoing this drill, let the officers remember that patience is required from them no less than from their men. Profane language is unnecessary and wicked, and it is hoped and expected that while in the discharge of their duties, officers and men will refrain from its use. Let it be the laudable ambition of every officer and man to make for this Battalion a reputation for discipline and efficiency.

*"Second:—*The following appointments are announced as the Commissioned Staff of the Battalion. They will take rank and be respected and obeyed accordingly from this date:

"F. L. Hitchcock, First Lieutenant and Adjutant.

"H. A. Kingsbury, Captain and Commissary.

"James Ruthven, First Lieutenant and Quartermaster.

"N. Y. Leet, First Lieutenant and Asst. Surgeon.

"S. C. Logan, D.D., Captain and Chaplain.

"H. M. BOIES,

"Major Commanding Battalion."

Without delay, and with great energy, the major set about the work his position had brought him, and found energetic and faithful helpers in all his officers of the line, as well as of the field and staff. On the afternoon of the 24th he called the officers together, and formed them into an organization under the title of "The Board of Officers," presenting a body of formulated regulations and by-laws which provided for a complete organization for the prosecution of work and an

efficient division of service; especially in all civil matters connected with the work of the battalion. This organization, with its standing committees and special officers, continued almost without amendment or readjustment for more than five years. During about half that time the Board met once a month, or oftener; but after the battalion had adjusted itself to the service, and its pressing necessities had been met, it was found that meeting once each quarter would serve efficiently the ends of the organization. This "Board of Officers" still exists, and holds on in the even tenor of its way, originating and controlling all measures of a civil nature which can in any wise affect the well-being and efficiency of the Guard.

The work of equipping and drilling both officers and men was manifestly the first and urgent necessity. The presence in the city at that time of the United States troops, and of the different regiments of the National Guard, which were encamped at various places in and about the city, very materially aided in infusing a military spirit, and in transforming the citizens, of which the Guard was composed, into true soldiers, ready to obey all orders, leaving the responsibility with the officers, where it belonged.

It was, indeed, both a difficult and delicate work to eliminate, with the smallest amount of friction, the idea of the civil control of a volunteer military organization whose men in the ranks were the equals and associates, in daily business and social life of all the officers in command. In this direction the Major found his greatest trial, and it is but justice to record that his perseverance and manly fidelity, in a short time, won for him and for the Guard a victory in which all right-minded men of the city rejoiced. He was greatly aided in all his unaccustomed duty by Colonel H. A. Morrow and his associate officers of the 13th U. S. Infantry, as well as by his field and staff, and he took occasion, at every suitable opportunity, to acknowledge their generous help and fidelity.



For the first two weeks, or more, the companies were ordered to drill twice a day. They were earnestly encouraged to assume the step and style of the soldier, and this, with the drill of officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, consumed at least the half of every day, and the whole of every evening; yet the men stood to the work without complaint.

Captain Bryson, having graduated at a military school where he had been taught to command a battalion of four companies, drilled Company A himself, and did it with marked efficiency and success. But, at the request of Major Boies and the officers in command of the other companies, Colonel Morrow detailed Sergeant Shawe to drill Company B, Sergeant Vine for Company C, and Sergeant Leary for Company D. These officers proved themselves excellent instructors, and were all members of the Third United States Infantry. The field, staff and line officers all went into the ranks, and drilled with the men as often as their duties permitted, and the effect of the work soon became manifest in all the companies.

On the 27th of August, in response to the mission of Lieutenant Hitchcock to Harrisburg, a lot of fifty-calibre Springfield breech-loading rifles arrived in the city, which were sent by Adjutant-General Latta for the arming of the Guard. On the same day Major Boies completed the appointment of his Staff, and issued General Order No. 2, which was as follows:—

"HEADQUARTERS BATTALION SCRANTON CITY GUARD, }  
SCRANTON, PA., August 27th, 1877. }

*"General Order No. 2 :*

"The following appointments are hereby announced as the Non-Commissioned Staff of this Battalion: Henry N. Dunnell, Sergeant-Major; S. G. Kerr, Quartermaster Sergeant; George H. Maddocks, Commissary Sergeant; William W. Ives, Hospital Steward; M. D. Smith and Charles R. Smith, Principal Musicians. They will be obeyed and respected accordingly. By command of Major H. M. Boies.

"F. L. HITCHCOCK,  
"First Lieutenant and Adjutant."



All these officers of the non-commissioned staff entered with zeal upon their duties and fulfilled the same to the advantage of the Guard and the satisfaction of their commander.

The continuance of the lawless spirit in the region was manifested in attempts to intimidate and injure the engineers, who were running the pumps at the mines, and the Guardsmen placed for their protection. On the 27th of August there was created a positive excitement and indignation by a dastardly attempt to wreck a train on the D. & H. Company's Gravity Road, which was carrying an excursion of citizens with their wives to Honesdale. This excursion, was gotten up especially for the benefit of Col. Morrow and a company of the United States officers, who were in command of the troops stationed here. This attempt was made by the displacement and spiking of a switch at a culvert, over a ravine some forty feet deep. The party providentially escaped with some severe bruises, a brakeman alone having been seriously wounded.

This dastardly wickedness deeply impressed the people with a sense of the dangers to which the city was yet exposed, and the work of drilling the companies went on with renewed energy.

As soon as the guns arrived, the four companies drilled during four evenings of each week as companies, and had squad drills in the afternoons for the benefit of those who could not attend the night work.

The uniforms ordered for the battalion, which were all ordered from personal measures, began to arrive on the 11th of September, and on the next day the Major issued his first order for open-air drills of the companies. This was specially necessary, because none of the halls in the city which could be had were large enough to permit company movements; besides, it was deemed best for the pacification of the city that there should be an open show of the strength and spirit of the force on the side of order. This order required the respective

companies to assemble every Friday at 3.30 P. M., uniformed and equipped, to proceed under arms to such places in the city as their commander might select for open-air drills; and the drum-major was directed to see that each company was provided with music. Musicians were detailed from the ranks of each company to enable him to fulfill this order. Pursuant to this order, Companies A, B and C made their first appearance in uniform on the 14th of September, and greatly increased the interest of the people in the success of the Guard. Company D was prevented from appearing at this drill by the failure to receive their uniforms. Quite a number of explanations of their failure pointed the wit of their more fortunate associates. One man gravely explained to his fellows that the members of Company D, being so much broader in the shoulders, and wider in the girth, than ordinary soldiers, a sufficiency of cloth could not be found, until the importers could be heard from, to uniform so large a body of heavy citizens. In fact the chief difference between Company D and the other companies was the difference which very naturally exists between *mien* and *young men*. It was made up of solid, substantial men, who felt the full burden of manhood upon them, and who had volunteered in the Guard for conscientious service, and could be little affected by the fitness or unfitness of uniforms. It was soon found that this company; which the boys made themselves happy in saying, required so much room in which to turn around "by ones," to say nothing of by fours; so much space to manœuvre in by company; and so much cloth to give it military standing, that the limits of the city must be extended to give safe elbow room; when marched up in front of the target, where *the use of guns* was to be tested, or had its members placed on guard, where unflinching service or fatigue duty were called for, it very seldom failed to bring the rear of the battalion to the front. It carried off the prizes for distinction in marksmanship with remarkable persistence and ease through

a number of years. Company D was never estimated as so many guns, but as so many men.

Each company had its special friends, indeed, in the city from their first appearance in uniform. Pleasant and manly competition was inaugurated between the companies, in which citizens and soldiers seemed to be alike interested. The community soon divided itself into a sort of reserve for each of the companies, and helped greatly to keep the enthusiasm alive and healthy. On the first public drill, Captain Bryson exercised Company A on Wyoming Avenue, between Vine and Mulberry Streets, in view of an immense body of delighted spectators. Captain Merriam drilled Company B on what was then known as the base ball ground, on the corner of Wyoming Avenue and Spruce Street, while Captain Coursen took Company C, by the generous invitation of the owner, Mr. J. C. Platt, to the beautiful grounds surrounding his family residence, between Jefferson Avenue and Ridge Row. At that time there was no yard or garden in the city which was deemed too good for these companies to march over.

Major Boies, with the officers of his field and staff, in uniform, accompanied by Colonel Morrow, of the United States troops, Captain Pratt, of a crack company of the 13th Infantry, and Colonel Howard, then in command of the National Guard, stationed in the city, visited each company in turn, and with great pleasure noted the efficiency displayed after a single month's drill. A large number of citizens gathered as interested spectators, and cheered enthusiastically the movements of the different companies, and the enthusiasm became general. In the judgment of the people great progress had indeed been made in thirty days. The companies had been filled up almost to their maximum numbers; they had been armed, uniformed and equipped; and the whole expense, with the exception of the guns, which were furnished by the State, had been provided for by the contributions of the boys and their

friends. Both officers and men had advanced so rapidly, in the study and exercise of the drill, as to be able to execute all the necessary movements of the company and battalion with creditable accuracy, and without fear of confusion. This success was the more cheering from the fact that no rooms suitable to free movement, even of companies, could be had in the city; and for most of the time there were only a few copies of Upton's Tactics in the city. The copies on hand were used as common property, and were passed from one officer to another as exigency demanded. Company D received their uniforms four days after the first open-air appearance of the other companies, and on September 19th made their first public appearance with forty men in line, and by their soldierly bearing and steadiness of movement secured very favorable criticism in the public papers. After a completion of their drill they joined Company A, and these two companies gave the first of the street parades, which afterwards became so effective in keeping alive the interest of the city in its Guard, and which very early led the mass of the citizens both to feel and express their pride and confidence in the City Guard.

As mustered into service on the 14th of August, and thus equipped and accepted by the public on the 17th of September, 1877, as ready for service, the Scranton City Guard was constituted of the following members, "all present or accounted for":—

#### OFFICERS.

Henry M. Boies.....Major Commanding.

#### *Staff Officers.*

Frederick L. Hitchcock.....1st Lieutenant and Adjutant.

Henry A. Kingsbury.....Captain and Commissary.

Nathan Y. Leet, M. D.....1st Lieutenant and Asst. Surgeon.

James Ruthven.....1st Lieutenant Quartermaster.

Samuel C. Logan, D. D.....Captain and Chaplain.

#### *Non-Commissioned Staff.*

Henry N. Dunnell, M. D.....Sergeant Major.

Samuel G. Kerr.....Quartermaster Sergeant.  
 George H. Maddocks.....Commissary Sergeant.

*Steward.*

William W. Ives.....Hospital Steward.

*Musicians.*

M. D. Smith and Charles R. Smith.....Principal Musicians.

COMPANY A.

OFFICERS.

Andrew Bryson, Jr.....Captain.  
 Henry A. Knapp.....1st Lieutenant.  
 Edward J. Smith.....2d Lieutenant.

*Sergeants.*

Robert Macmillan... ..1st Sergeant.  
 H. A. Mace.....2d Sergeant.  
 James P. Hosie.....3d Sergeant.  
 John C. Highriter.....4th Sergeant.  
 Henry E. Hess.....5th Sergeant.

*Corporals.*

George F. Barnard.....1st Corporal.  
 John P. Albro.....2d Corporal.  
 M. J. Andrews.....3d Corporal.  
 S. V. D. Huntington.....4th Corporal.  
 William A. Duer.....5th Corporal.  
 Friend B. Watrous.....6th Corporal.  
 Edward S. Dolph.....7th Corporal.  
 Isaac Post.....8th Corporal.

*Privates.*

Charles Arthur,	F. C. Hand,	Robert Reeves,
Charles Bartlett,	S. T. Hayes,	A. K. Roberts,
W. S. Blanchard,	Frank Henn,	T. W. Riley,
William S. Boyd,	George F. Jones,	J. A. Robertson,
E. F. Baldwin,	Charles A. Kramer,	W. G. Robertson,
Edward Brady,	Wm. L. Krigbaum,	C. M. Sheffel,
O. W. Beesecker,	J. G. Leyshon,	A. H. Schlager,
Fred Barnard,	Arthur C. Logan,	M. D. Smith,
M. I. Corbett,	Harry V. Logan,	F. D. Smith,

E. G. Coursen,	James H. Torrey,	A. C. Smith,
A. J. Connell,	Geo. S. Throop,	C. W. Thompson,
Josiah Chamberlin,	W. M. Marple,	Robert Widdowfield,
Wharton Dickinson,	J. A. Marvin,	C. F. Walters,
C. W. Doud,	A. J. Norrman,	C. G. Widner,
George B. Foster,	Wm. O'Connell,	Edward M. Vernoy.
D. L. Foote,	Wm. W. Paterson,	
John H. Hosie,	O. B. Partridge,	

Making a total of 65 in Company as by the certified roll.

#### COMPANY B.

##### OFFICERS.

R. B. Merriam.....	Captain.
Daniel Bartholomew.....	1st Lieutenant.
William Kellow.....	2nd Lieutenant.

##### *Sergeants.*

Charles R. Fuller.....	1st Sergeant.
J. D. Evans.....	2nd Sergeant.
H. R. Madison.....	3rd Sergeant.
J. N. Godshall.....	4th Sergeant.
William J. Watts.....	5th Sergeant.

##### *Corporals.*

L. C. Bortree.....	1st Corporal.
John Bailey.....	2nd Corporal.
C. K. Swift.....	3rd Corporal.
L. D. Kemmerer.....	4th Corporal.
John T. Howe.....	5th Corporal.
H. G. Bacon.....	6th Corporal.
Frank McFarland.....	7th Corporal.
W. S. Millar.....	8th Corporal.

##### *Company Clerk.*

Thomas H. Watts.....	Company Clerk.
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##### *Musicians.*

A. K. Roberts.....	Musician.
W. D. Roberts.....	Musician.
Frank G. Wolf.....	Musician.



*Privates.*

W. Clayton Bushnell,	D. L. Foote,	W. H. Pierce,
W. A. W. Brightman,	George W. Gager,	James P. Riach,
Edw. F. Chamberlin,	H. M. Hannah,	B. S. Robinson,
Frank Courtright,	L. M. Horton,	Stephen H. Rice,
A. L. Carr,	M. D. Hine,	E. P. Reynolds,
George W. Crane,	Jacob Harris,	Joseph R. Silkman,
George A. Campbell,	John S. Luce,	John Taylor,
John J. Coleman,	William K. Logan,	Perry G. Tiffany,
Frank E. Doud,	Andrew D. Lord,	James W. Umphred,
George W. Dunn,	Alex. McWilliams,	James W. Vail,
Joseph C. Dean,	C. D. Mackey,	John Whitbeck,
J. W. Evans,	Lloyd Marteeny,	William H. Young,
James A. Fuller,	George A. Morris,	J. D. Stone,
H. G. Fuller,	William McDonald,	Edward M. Soellner.
William M. Fowler,	Joseph H. Mulley,	

Making a total of sixty-four in company, as according to their roll.

## COMPANY C.

## OFFICERS.

H. A. Coursen.....	Captain.
Louis A. Watres.....	1st Lieutenant.
James E. Brown.....	1st Lieutenant (resigned).
Charles E. Judson.....	2nd Lieutenant (elected).

*Sergeants.*

W. D. Manness.....	1st Sergeant.
Edward C. Mattes.....	2nd Sergeant.
Edward J. Dimmick.....	3rd Sergeant.
J. H. Culver.....	4th Sergeant.
C. Seward.....	5th Sergeant.

*Corporals.*

Frank H. Clemons.....	1st Corporal.
James Moir.....	2nd Corporal.
Charles W. Gunster.....	3rd Corporal.
W. B. Henwood .....	4th Corporal.
T. F. Penman.....	5th Corporal.
J. Vosburgh.....	6th Corporal.
J. S. Walden.....	7th Corporal.
W. D. Schoonover.....	8th Corporal.

*Musicians.*

Uriah Armstrong.....	Musician.
Wesley Baptist.....	Musician.
W. L. Culver.....	Musician.
W. C. Cowles.....	Musician.
J. White.....	Musician.

*Privates.*

Stephen Ayola, Jr.,	A. R. Gould,	M. V. Roselle,
W. H. Bradbury,	G. R. Harper,	Amel Roth,
Rudolph Bensley,	E. P. Hoffman,	J. Riesig,
H. Bergerhoff,	T. Holcombe,	A. Snow,
Henry Battin,	F. J. Hedrick,	V. A. Simrell,
Andrew P. Bedford,	A. V. Kiersted,	H. B. Sweet,
Daniel Beesecker,	William Kendall,	S. S. Schoonover,
F. H. Connell,	E. H. Lynde,	J. W. Schlager,
J. B. Cust,	H. H. Merrill,	William Vanness,
H. E. Ferber,	Richard O. Manness,	Leopold Vanness,
C. Farnham,	Arthur Miller,	John Vosburg,
H. J. Gunster,	James Nolan,	G. E. Wolf,
C. H. Gaul,	F. W. Rice,	Edward Wagstaff,
W. A. Gaul,	W. B. Rockwell,	A. B. Walter.
L. K. Gleason,		

Total, sixty-five men, as by certified company roll.

## COMPANY D.

## OFFICERS.

Ezra H. Ripple.....	Captain.
James A. Linsen.....	1st Lieutenant.
Samuel Hines.....	2nd Lieutenant.

*Sergeants.*

J. L. Harding.....	1st Sergeant.
Edward S. Jackson.....	2nd Sergeant.
George F. Millet.....	3rd Sergeant.
David T. Lawson.....	4th Sergeant.
Samuel H. Stevens.....	5th Sergeant.

*Corporals.*

E. C. Fowler.....	1st Corporal.
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H. T. Porter.....	2nd Corporal.
George F. Bentley.....	3rd Corporal.
Charles H. Lindsay.....	4th Corporal.
Alexander W. Dickson.....	5th Corporal.
H. L. Krigbaum.....	6th Corporal.
Jacob Bryant.....	7th Corporal.
Henry Belin, Jr.....	8th Corporal.

*Privates.*

R. W. Archbald,	A. C. Drinker,	W. E. Plumley,
William H. Atkinson,	H. K. Grant,	G. Frank Reynolds,
William L. Ackler,	George B. Hand,	E. P. Reynolds,
Austin B. Blair,	Henry Hagan,	E. B. Sturges,
J. Selden Blair,	George H. Ives,	B. F. Stanton,
George L. Breck,	W. W. Ives,	Charles R. Smith,
Charles F. Bryant,	E. W. Ives,	Geo. Sanderson, Jr.,
Montrose Barnard,	Jacob Kirkpatrick,	Hiram Sayers,
James L. Connell,	N. J. W. Kingsbury,	Geo. B. Thompson,
M. D. Cornwall,	Saml A. Lackey,	Henry Van Bergen,
George W. Carlton,	James McWilliams,	Charles H. Welles,
A. C. Dennis,	George A. Morris,	Louis T. Mattes,
J. B. Dennis,	Samuel B. Price,	H. W. Kingsbury.

In all fifty-five men by the certified company roll.

These officers and men constituted the original organization of the Scranton City Guard. By their family and social ties they connected the Guard directly with all the best families, and business enterprises, of the city. The people of the city felt a pride in their own brave boys, which was intensified when they saw them in the uniform of the Guard. The citizens appreciated the patriotism and manliness of these young men, who, at so much sacrifices of time, personal taste and comfort, had undertaken to fit themselves for such duty. It was indeed felt that the safety of the city had already, in great measure, been secured against whatever of lawlessness might appear. In these companies there was both beauty and strength, which were greatly increased when they kept step together.

## CHAPTER XI.

"WHO COMES THERE?"

The Guard Mount—Dress and Undress—Test of the use of the Guard—The Second Night-watch—The City sleeps well behind its Defense now.

AS soon as uniforms had been provided for the men of all the Companies, the daily drills went on with new enthusiasm. But when guns had been placed in their hands the realities of State service began to make their impression. It at once became necessary to have some place where these arms and other State property could be safely kept, when not in the hands of the soldiers on duty. In the present condition of passion and excitement it was absolutely necessary that the Guard should have an armory of some sort, and that a systematic Guard mount should be at once established. To this necessity the Major turned his attention with his well-known thoroughness and promptness, with what system and success will speedily appear.

Arrangements were completed about the 28th of September for the occupancy of the Hall, on the fourth floor, over the Second National Bank, on Lackawanna Avenue, as an armory. Under the direction of Quarter Master Ruthven it was fitted up with gun-racks and conveniences for storing away accoutrements; and this hall soon put on a decidedly military appearance, and was recognized as "The Armory." On the 29th, as soon as this armory was set in order, the Major issued his General Order, arranging for a guard; and for any effective service, which the state of things in and about the city, might require, as follows:—

"General Order No 5.

"HEADQUARTERS BATTALION, SCRANTON CITY GUARD.  
SCRANTON, PA., September 29th, 1877.

*First:* From 9 o'clock P.M. of this date, September 29th, 1877, the armory of the Battalion will be guarded according to the following regulations, to wit: Beginning with the first Company; each Company Commander will be responsible for the care of the armory for one week, and will be Battalion Officer of the day during his tour of duty. He will turn over his charge, and instructions to his successor at the armory at 9 o'clock P.M. of each Saturday.

*"Second:* A corporal and six men will be posted on guard at the armory at 10 o'clock P.M. on nights when it is occupied for drill, and at 9 o'clock P.M. on all other nights, and be relieved from duty at six o'clock A.M.

"The officer of the day will appoint an officer of the Guard from his Company, who will inspect the Guard, and see that they are properly uniformed, armed and equipped before going on duty. The officer of the day will make his details and report a list of them to these Headquarters before six P.M. of the day his tour of duty begins, and will also make a full report in writing of his tour of duty immediately after its conclusion.

*"Third:* Commanders of Companies will each detail ten men and one sergeant, selecting the same with reference to the vicinage of their lodging, and other good qualifications, who shall constitute the reserve Guard, and be required to take their arms and equipments to their lodgings, together with twenty rounds of ammunition for each man.

*"Fourth:* In case of necessity for calling the battalion under arms suddenly, the alarm at the armory will be sounded for such by a guard on duty. The bell of the First Presbyterian Church will be rung by turning over continuously, and the steam gongs of the city will be blown with short blasts, continuously repeated. Private Arthur C. Logan, Company A, is charged with the duty of sounding the alarm for assembling with the First Presbyterian Church bell, and will promptly ring the same as directed in these orders, on hearing the alarm sounded at the armory, and on receiving orders from the commanding officer of the battalion, the officer of the day, and from the mayor of this city. When either of these alarms are sounded, the reserve guard will assemble with all possible promptness, armed and equipped, at the rendezvous designated by the several company commanders, and then march in double time to the reserve rendezvous, at the corner of Washington Ave. and Spruce St., where they will report to the officer of the day, or, in his absence, to

the ranking officer present. All other members of the battalion will hasten in uniform to the armory, and if unable to gain admittance will fall in near the reserve guard. Field and staff officers and musicians will join the reserve guard.

*"Fifth :* The Reserve Guard of each company, unless excused by the company commander, will assemble on the nights for company drill at its rendezvous, and march thence, under command of its sergeant, to the armory, in time to fall in for roll-call for drill. Whenever the Reserve Guard joins its company under arms, the commanding officer will carefully inspect its arms, and see that they are unloaded before allowing the guard to fall in with the company.

*"Sixth :* Company commanders will cause a roll to be made of the members of their companies, who have serviceable private arms and ammunition at their lodgings, and who are not detailed on the Reserve Guard, and send a copy of the same to these headquarters with the specification of the kind of arms possessed by each. The men of this roll will be requested to turn out, upon the sounding of an alarm, with their private arms, to be used until their guns are obtained from the armory.

*"Seventh :* THIS ORDER WILL BE READ BEFORE EACH COMPANY IN THE ARMORY, AND ITS PROVISIONS MUST NOT BE MADE KNOWN OUTSIDE THE MEMBERS OF THIS COMMAND.

"By order of Major H. M. BOIES, commanding.

"F. L. HITCHCOCK, Adjutant."

This general order, here for the first time made public, will bring back, quite vividly, to both soldiers and citizens, who were in the city of Scranton in 1877, the remembrance of the long and wearing excitements, apprehensions, and real dangers, which disturbed the community through the summer and autumn. The strike continued throughout the whole valley. Coal could not be had to keep the mills and factories in operation, even where the workmen were ready to operate them. The troops of the National Guard were camping at different points along the valley, for the protection of the railways and the breakers, where efforts were constantly made to intimidate or to kill engineers and watchmen. The United States troops were encamped upon



the hill, within the city limits, east of Clay Avenue, and almost nightly there were disturbances, which kept the people in a condition of painful uncertainty. Sometimes there were shots fired; more frequently stones were cast at the trains leaving or approaching the city by night. There were often visible companies and squads of men drilling in the outskirts; and it was impossible to know how much of this was done as the mere entertainment of idle men, and as an effect of the marching and counter-marching of the militia in the community, and how much of it was prompted by indefinite intentions of intimidation and violence. The miners remained sullen and silent, and only spoke to assert the continuance of the strike, or to abuse the companies and their managers for the condition of things of which they complained. The companies refused to make any advances, and steadily rejected all compromises. The low prices of iron and coal gave no ground for the hope of a break of the deadlock, in the great industries of the valley, from the side of the operators, or men of means. There was no possible hope of the companies granting the increase demanded in wages. Indeed it was more than doubtful if they could pay the wages given when the strike was ordered; while the unallayed passion and natural stubbornness of workmen, which were fostered by politicians and demagogues who had use for the honest, and too often oppressed, workers at the approaching election, forestalled any effective movement looking towards a return to work and peace.

But the sufferings of the workmen became intolerable as time passed, and drove many of them away from the coal regions in search for work. Many more were compelled to press upon their associates the necessity and wisdom of returning to work, and of thus awaiting the return of prosperity for the adjustment of grievances. It was perfectly evident that with no better market or outlook of business

than then existed, the corporations would not, could not, treat with the workingmen while on a strike.

The strike had reached a crisis about the 10th of October ; and as a consequence the passions of the turbulent were at a white heat. The miners of the Pennsylvania Coal Company, who had been forced to join the strikers by the burning of the " Head House No. 5," on the gravity road in July, decided to go to work on the 8th, and actually had begun the mining of coal. But on the night of this day of their resumption a tressel-work on the road was burned by incendiaries, and the whole work stopped again. Being a gravity road and the only line of transportation for their coal, any breakage of the line necessarily interrupted the whole industry.

This company, under the management of Mr. John B. Smith, had seldom been troubled with strikes. The wise and genial spirit, and strict honesty of the manager, Mr. Smith, made him very popular with the employees, as well as secured the excellence of the men employed through all the years of his faithful service. This was manifested by their confidence in those who were in charge of the great interest. But the Pennsylvania Coal Company having no outlet to the market except by their gravity track over the mountains, was at the mercy of the lawless, who could stop their whole industry either by breaking the track or disabling a stationary engine. And it was impossible to efficiently guard the whole track from Pittston to Hawley.

At this time almost daily outrages were reported in the city ; such as placing obstructions upon the railroads, burning buildings, firing upon watchmen and pump engineers at the mines, and the robbing of farms in the neighborhood. These disorders, daily reported in the papers, or by the soldiers on guard, up and down the valley, with the drilling of companies of strikers, already mentioned, gave special reason for the order organizing the battalion for special vigilance and guard duty. It was

feared also that an attempt might be made to seize the guns which were in possession of men who had not yet become accustomed to the duty of taking care of them. This general condition of things gave to the Major and officers of the Guard a schooling which soon manifested its benefits in bringing the battalion to a condition of efficiency rarely developed in so short a time.

On the 5th of October the whole Guard appeared under command of the Major for the first time in public. The commanding officer and all his staff were present. A band had been procured from Waverly, and the four companies were drilled in battalion movements. It is enough to say that these movements were executed without confusion, especially when the fact is noted that there was at that time no suitable parade-ground in the city. The public square was a swamp which for some years had been the dumping-ground of the city, and finally had just been filled with the cinders and ashes from the mills and furnaces. It would have been difficult to find a more unsuitable surface for the movements of men not allowed to look at the place of their feet. The drill was rather a facing of the public, and a mustering of courage on the part of officers and men, to undertake unaccustomed duty. But both movements and marching received favorable criticism from the public, and inspired the whole Guard with confidence and hope. Both officers and men learned to know their places in line and companies their relation to each other. The City Guard was thus "set up" in the face of the public, and retired without loss of self-respect. But Friday, October 12th, was the day when the first satisfactory appearance and drill of the battalion occurred, when there was a successful exercise in all the duties of the Guard.

The special necessity at this time, as has been stated, was a suitable parade ground, which, in a city of such unevenness of surface, was not easily to be found. Col. U. G. Schoonmaker,

at that time the proprietor of the Forest House, generously took this matter in hand. He employed at his own expense a large number of men to level the cinders and gather out the stones on the swamp; and as soon as it was sufficiently levelled, he hauled dirt from outside the city and spread over the surface to keep the ashes from rising on the march. Thus a beautiful parade ground was prepared where the movements of the battalion could be witnessed by a large body of the citizens. Guards were placed around the square, and a multitude, on foot and in carriages, gathered outside the guard line and cheered, with decided enthusiasm, the drill carried on within the lines. The work of drilling sentries in guard duty was vigorously prosecuted under an "officer of the day," with his "sergeant" and "corporal of the guard." The success achieved in this public drill, and the consequent enthusiasm, impressed both citizens and soldiers with the conviction that the city had a Guard whose efficiency could be relied upon, by whose moral power alone the lawless could be held under control, and by whose readiness for effective service farther bloodshed would be prevented. It was indeed felt that the city and the community had already been secured in great measure against whatever of lawlessness might yet appear. The danger of the city had created its defense. This faith was very soon to be tested. The real value of the Guard was to have its demonstration while yet the excitements of the successful drill were quickening the pulse-beats of officers and men, as well as enlivening the conversation of the homes which these new soldiers proposed to guard.

At this time the condition of the strikers would seem to have driven them to the verge of desperation and despair. General Manager W. W. Scranton, according to his well-known views of management, determined to try the effect of heroic treatment upon the class of workmen who claimed that they had no special interest in the strike, but were kept from re-

suming work by the fear of those who were determined to maintain it to the end.

On the 11th of October he induced a few of the miners to go into the Pine Brook mine and resume work under promise of protection. He then put up a notice to the effect that "ANY PINE BROOK MINER WHO DOES NOT COME TO WORK TO-MORROW (FRIDAY THE 12TH) WILL NOT BE AGAIN EMPLOYED BY THIS COMPANY." This notice seemed to arouse a great deal of passion. That night the company's mule barn, located near to the mine, about the centre of the city, was burned. Quite a body of men, however, reported for work on Friday morning, and the breaker was guarded by two Companies of Col. Howard's State Troops. These troops succeeded in restraining the gathered crowd from perpetrating outrages upon the men as they came out of the mine at the close of the day.

The officers of the City Guard were assembled at the office of the Major, on Wyoming Avenue, for the transaction of battalion business in the evening, after their successful drill of the 12th. Just as they were dismissed, at 10 o'clock P. M., Col. Morrow came in, and calling the Major aside, informed him that Mayor McKune had information that a mob of five hundred men, more or less, was approaching the city from down the valley, with the determination to "fix the blacklegs" who had gone to work at Pine Brook, and to burn the breaker. The Colonel also announced that Col. Howard's troops, then quartered near the breaker, were all under arms, and were able to protect both the workmen and the breaker; but there was nothing to prevent the mob from entering the city and doing what they pleased, as he could not order out the United States troops under his command except as a last resort, when all efforts by the State to preserve the peace had failed.

It was feared that the armory of the Guard might be sacked for arms for this crowd on mischief bent. After a short consultation with Col. Morrow, Major Boies directed the Captains

to assemble their men immediately at the armory and wait for orders. While this order was being executed, he visited Col. Howard, at Pine Brook, with Col. Morrow, where a plan of action was concerted under Col. Morrow's suggestion. The Major returned to the armory at 11 o'clock, to find the Companies formed, with officers and men ready for duty.

There were present as follows, to wit: of the Field and Staff, seven. Company A, three officers and 23 men. Company B, three officers and 38 men. Company C, two officers and 16 men. Company D, three officers and 24 men. Making a total of 14 officers and 116 men.

Captain Merriam was immediately appointed officer of the day, and Lieutenants Linen and Smith officers of the Guard, and pickets were ordered to be stationed as follows:—

A corporal and four men near the steel mill, on Washington Avenue, and a corporal and two men, each at the following points; at the junction of Monroe Avenue and Ridge Row; opposite the Company's store at junction of Jefferson and Lackawanna Avenues; at the crossing of Washington and Lackawanna; in front of the armory on Lackawanna and Penn Avenues, and at the Lackawanna Avenue and Railroad Bridges across the river.

A patrol, constituted of a sergeant and eight men, was sent out to visit these posts every half hour throughout the night. They were visited also at regular intervals by staff officers, and regular reliefs were supplied. Shortly after the pickets were posted a man escorting what was supposed by the sentinel to be a woman, was permitted to pass the post near the steel works. It was afterwards learned that this was a man in woman's clothing, and that these two had taken information to the approaching mob of the preparation made for their reception.

Upon the receipt of this information the crowd turned back and dispersed. The Companies remained under arms at the armory ready for instant service all through the night, and the



guards, relieved every two hours, stood to their duty until the morning dawned.

Everything was carried out with military precision, with the single exception that Charles H. Lindsay, 4th Corporal, and Samuel B. Price, a private of Company D, and a respectable lawyer of the city, who were pickets stationed on and beyond the railway bridge, were forgotten by the relief. Private Price proved his soldierly qualities by remaining faithfully on his beat with a nodding wakefulness until he was permitted in the early morning to halt a squad of the engineers who came to fire up their engines in the morning watch. These engineers being let go gave information of the lost pickets, and the officer of the Guard relieved them at daylight.

No one who was acquainted with the facts known to the Mayor and the military officers, then in command of the city, has ever questioned the benefit of the service rendered by the sudden assembling of the City Guard that night.

The information received by the Mayor was afterwards fully confirmed, and there is no doubt there would have been violence in the city on the night of October 12th but for the prompt and efficient action of Major Boies and his command. The benefit of the active service to the Guard itself was marked and immediate. The men that night took some measurement of the work they had undertaken to do, as well as of the dignity and responsibility of their position as the guardsmen of the city against lawlessness and violence.

The next morning the Mayor addressed the following note to the Commander of the Guard, viz. :—

MAYOR'S OFFICE, CITY OF SCRANTON.  
SCRANTON, PA., OCT. 13th, 1877.

MAJOR H. M. BOIES,  
COMMANDING S. C. GUARD.

DEAR SIR :—From information received at my office I apprehend that my police force is not sufficient to prevent contemplated disturbances in this city. You will please order on duty at your armory between the

hours of 10 P.M. and 4 A.M., forty men until further orders ; and instruct their officer in command to hold himself and his command in readiness to respond to any call I, or my chief of police, may make upon him for assistance in preserving the peace of the city.

Respectfully yours,

ROBERT H. MCKUNE, Mayor.

In accordance with this request the Major ordered each Company, on the night of its regular drill, to furnish the reserve called for with their commanding officer, to wait at the armory the call of his honor the Mayor. In addition to this precautionary measure, a relief guard of selected men were allowed to take their guns to their homes with a specified number of rounds of ammunition, and required to hold themselves in readiness for duty at a given signal.

Thus the City Guard fully organized, armed and equipped, took up the unaccustomed burdens of the soldier's duty, and started upon the upward march of its career, with a steady step, inspired with the consciousness that there was use for the organization, and that their services should throw new and permanent entrenchments about the sanctities of law ; and secure the lasting blessings of peace and order to the city.

## CHAPTER XII.

## CIVIL HISTORY.

Struggles for a Habitation—End of the Strike—The City's Endorsement of its Executive and its Defenders—Law an open bargain which must be Fulfilled.

FROM the day when an effort was begun to enlist the Citizens' Corps to aid the public authorities in the maintenance of order, the prime difficulty was found to be the want of a suitable hall or building where such an organization could have a home, and be put into a training that might give hope of efficiency to itself, and safety to the trust committed to it.

Before the day of the riot, the Citizens' Corps, organized according to the published call of the Governor as repeated by the Mayor, could find no place which could be used even as headquarters, except the upper floor of the Company's store, generously tendered by Mr. Scranton. This room was entirely too limited for drill or Company movements, and grievous interference with the business of the owners could not be avoided. The ample house of merchandise was of little use, either to the owners or their customers, while its upper floors were filled with armed men who were preparing for the public defense.

As soon as the movement to organize the City Guard began, a committee on an armory was appointed which consisted of Messrs. S. C. Logan and H. M. Boies. This committee, as long as the excitement and reaction connected with the dispersion of the mob continued, were not able to find any property, at all suitable, whose owner was willing to have it used for

such purpose. The danger from the angry strikers was supposed to be so great that insurance companies, it was said, would cancel their policies on any hall which should be let for the use of the Guard.

When at length the tide of public opinion set positively toward the organization, the whole matter became even more complicated by the number of companies which had been enlisted. There were a few halls which might have been fitted up to accommodate a single company, in which the men could be drilled in the use of arms. But the battalion of four companies was compelled to exercise itself in the open air, or go without battalion drill.

The fourth floor of the Second National Bank was secured at a heavy rent as soon as the Guard was organized, but it could be used for drill purposes by only one company at a time, and could never be more than a rendezvous, where the property of the Guard might be stored.

Hence the question of building an armory began to be considered by the committee as soon as the four companies were mustered into service. The day after Major Boies had announced his acceptance of the command, he called the Chaplain in consultation on that subject. The committee on finance had pushed the subscription for an equipment of the Guard with energy and perseverance. Messrs. Logan and E. N. Willard had visited New York and brought the subject by earnest appeal to all the great companies whose interests centred in Scranton, and had succeeded in securing very generous appropriations from them all, as well as from individuals, who were operating in coal and manufactories in the valleys.

Thus it resulted that the amount secured was already more than was needed for the complete equipment of the Guard with uniforms. By adding to this amount the State appropriation to the companies for the year, and by trusting the State to furnish, by future appropriations, all the equip-

ments needed, except uniforms, it was found that enough could be realized from the funds already within reach, to purchase two lots on which to build an armory.

Major Boies was convinced that an armory, owned by the Guard, was absolutely necessary; and true wisdom demanded that a beginning to build should be made at once. The inconvenience of attempting to drill the battalion without a room large enough to allow even company movements, as well as the danger, perfectly apparent, as contingent upon having the companies separated, with company headquarters placed in different parts of the city, gave emphasis to his conviction.

It would indeed have been a dangerous experiment to separate the companies and place them in different parts of the city, where their arms and property could be neither cared for nor protected against the lawless. A single compact company, full in hand of its commander, would be more efficient and safe.

There were, at this time, almost daily outrages committed by the strikers and their associates; such as placing obstructions upon railway tracks, burning unguarded buildings, firing upon pumpmen and watchmen about the coal-breakers, and robbing the farms about the city. These outrages were never supposed to be the work of the respectable workmen who had made themselves responsible for the strike, but of lawless, and worthless people who followed the strike. These acts of violence, reported in the daily papers, kept the community in a fever of fear and apprehension. While the constant drilling of companies of men in the fields, up and down the valley, made it evident that any relaxing of energy, or lack of vigilance, on the part of either officers or men, would probably cost the companies of the City Guard their arms.

Under this condition of things the Major promptly concluded that the venture must be made, whatever might be the

result. He brought the matter of building an armory before the Board of Officers, and pressed it upon their consideration and action. All saw the necessity of ultimately having an armory; but the majority of the officers were cautious and conservative in business enterprises. They could see but little prospect for a successful move towards building an armory, until the Guard should have entrenched itself more perfectly in the confidence and affections of the citizens. We might hope that the whole community would rally to the work and needful sacrifice, when the use and excellence of the Guard had been demonstrated. But until it had entrenched itself in the confidence and affections of the people, the attempt to build—must be a disastrous failure.

But the Major was persistent in his judgment that the building should be at once undertaken, and that the whole City Guard, and their friends should be committed and pressed into the work of raising the funds necessary to pay for it. In this judgment and conclusion he was warmly seconded by the Chaplain and by a number of the officers and men whom he consulted privately. He had also an efficient helper to his positive convictions in Colonel H. A. Morrow, then in command of the United States Troops, who manifested a wise and constant interest in all that concerned both the city and its defenses.

Having the assurance of the Chaplain that he should not stand alone, the Major determined to act promptly. Two lots on Adams Avenue, a short distance from the public square, north of Linden Street, were purchased for the Guard; himself becoming responsible for the payments on the same, when these should become due. The price contracted for these lots was four thousand dollars. The Major then secured plans and specifications from architect Captain Frederick J. Amsden; a veteran of the Union army and a native of the city, who had closed his four years' service at Appomatox, as an officer on Gen.



Gibbon's staff, for an armory to be built upon these lots; at an estimated cost of six thousand eight hundred and thirty-five dollars; with the addition of eighteen cents a square yard for excavation, and two dollars and ten cents a perch for all stone work, on walls of the cellar and foundation.

The contract for the building of this armory was let to the lowest bidder, Mr. J. E. Chandler, on the 5th day of October, 1877, who obligated himself to complete the same and deliver it to the battalion on, or before, the 1st day of the following December. Major Boies became himself responsible to the builder for the whole amount of the contract, and subsequently fulfilled the consequent obligations with that unflinching, Christian integrity which has ever marked his business and benevolent character. His courage and generosity were manifested in the fact, that this obligation for an outlay of more than eight thousand dollars was taken, when he had nothing to depend upon, except the possible appropriation from the State of eight hundred dollars a year, subject to a vote of the Companies, and such subscriptions as the Guard and their friends might make.

It was at once determined to risk waiting upon the State for the appropriation necessary for overcoats, blankets and haversacks; and, if called out before these were provided, to go without them; and thus the whole balance of the subscription, above that which was necessary to pay for the uniforms already secured, was taken to pay for the lots.

On the 13th of November, 1877, the Major secured the deeds for the two lots, which was made to himself in trust; and, on the 23d of January, 1878, these lots were deeded to the Scranton City Guard Association. The whole amount of four thousand dollars—the price of these lots—was paid on the 27th of November, 1877. Thus the friends of the guard were committed to the enterprise of building an armory.

The first steps were immediately taken to secure to the

armory fund all sums of money which might be realized from the State under the law. By suggestion of the Board of Officers, the Company officers secured from all enlisted men a written relinquishment of all their pay for service, which might be received from the State for five years. The Companies submitted by special vote, under the proposition of the Chaplain, to a monthly assessment; ranging from twelve to fifteen dollars, to meet the running expenses of the Guard. The Headquarters agreed to an equal monthly assessment with the Companies. Thus through the first and second years the City Guard was run at the expense of the officers and men, with such help as they could obtain from honorary members and friendly citizens. Too much honor cannot be accorded to the young men for the patience, generosity and self-sacrifice, with which this burden was carried.

The Companies, by vote, then appropriated to the armory fund the entire annual due from the State for "armory rent." Company entertainments were given by all the Companies from time to time, aided by the lady friends of each Company to keep up their treasuries, and thus the work of maintaining the Guard was sustained.

The contractor began work as soon as the contract had been signed, and pushed forward the building with commendable energy, under the superintendence of Architect Amsden, who had been employed for that purpose.

The battalion was kept steadily at the duties of drill and of guarding the city. The strike continued to burden business, and invite the lawless to deeds of violence, and pillage. The moral effect, however, of such tangible evidence that the City Guard had come to stay; and that the citizens had determined to suffer no further violent invasions of the peace of the city, either from workmen, who should undertake to right their own wrongs in an unlawful way, or from thieves and assassins bent upon plunder, became marked in a little time.

Within a few days after the work was begun on the armory palpable evidences of the weakening of the strike began to appear. The sense of security among the people grew definite and strong; especially after the night watch of October 12th. Within three days after this appearance of the battalion, armed and equipped for duty, rumors of the end of the miner's strike began to be heard about the city. The causal connection between these two facts may not be sufficiently traceable to establish a conclusion, but the coincidence was certainly remarkable.

On the 6th of October a mass meeting of miners was held at the Round Woods, to which about one hundred men from Pine Brook marched with a band of music, carrying rude banners, on which were inscribed in bold characters the various mottoes which assured the world that the strike was "solid for six months" or "a year" longer, and that among miners and other corporation martyrs there was to be "no giving out," "no going in."

At this meeting a vote was taken by collieries, after some hours of furious debate, which was announced by their committees as 1262 for continuing the strike, to 144 for abandoning it.

On the same day the employes of the Pennsylvania Company met the President, Mr. Hoyt, and the General Manager, Mr. John B. Smith; and after tendering an apology for their hasty action when carried away with the strike fever, that had swept over the community, they expressed their readiness to return to work; trusting the Company for the justice of the terms, which might be demanded, as well as for protection from the lawless.

Six days after the overwhelming vote of the miners of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, and Delaware and Hudson Companies, there followed the secret gathering and movement of strikers against the Pine Brook breaker, already re-

corded, when the efficient wall of bayonets which were presented by the City Guard, placed a period to the bloody intention of their night march, which they were able to discern by starlight.

It was but four days after the night watch of the battalion, and only ten days after their determination neither "to give out" or "go in," that these same miners met again at the "Round Woods," and by a unanimous vote, announced with enthusiastic shouts, the determination to end the strike at once. This was done on October 16th, at 10 o'clock in the morning. The miners of the D. L. & W. R. R. appointed a committee with powers, which waited upon Manager W. R. Storrs within an hour after their appointment. After about an hour's conference and general conversation, in which the Company yielded nothing, the whole issue was settled by the simplest process. The committee said to the Superintendent, "May we work as soon as the mines are put in order for it?" The Superintendent answered, "You may." And the committee responded "all right," and was at once furnished with the following notice to be posted by them at the collieries of the Company:—

"OFFICE OF THE WESTERN COAL DEPARTMENT OF THE DELAWARE, LACKAWANNA & WESTERN RAILROAD COMPANY.

"SCRANTON, PA., October 16th, 1877.

"The miners having notified us that they are ready to work, resumption will take place to-morrow, the 17th inst., to such an extent as the mines can be got in readiness.

"W. R. STORRS,

"General Coal Agent."

The committee retired with a copy of this notice, and in less than fifteen minutes they had it posted in a conspicuous place in the Hyde Park post-office. A shout went up from the wearied workmen, and in a few minutes the streets were filled with men, women and children, running with the news from house to house and crying "The strike is ended!"

On the same day the Delaware & Hudson miners voted at

their collieries with much the same results all the way up the valley.

Their Committee waited upon A. H. Vandling, General Coal Agent for the Delaware & Hudson Company, and after a few minutes conversation stated that the miners were all ready to resume work without conditions. Their proposition was promptly, and kindly accepted, and before the close of the day Mr. Vandling telegraphed the message all along the line :

"All our mines will resume work as soon as possible. The general committee have been at the office and say that all are ready.

"A. H. VANDLING,  
"Coal Agent."

This news of resumption swept all around the Valley the same afternoon, and struck the wearied people of all classes and industries, as the glory of a clear sunset after months of leaden skies.

So suddenly ended the bloody strike of 1877, after two months of lawless strife and bickering,—an end as gladly welcomed by the workmen themselves as by their employers. Without further notice, that whole army of demagogues and "labor reformers," who had so long managed to live off the honest laborers, without work; and with them that other multitude of tramps, without name or habitation, were left without a constituency, and were permitted to manage themselves, and their strange resources of depravity, according to their own liking.

The community at once began to adjust itself to the reign of law. The regiments of the National Guard, on duty so long guarding breakers and the homes of the people, began immediately to gather up their equipments and stores, strike their tents, and prepare for the march to their homes, after a most faithful and trying service, in which they found no military glory. The United States forces, under Colonel Morrow, waited a little longer; but the Scranton City Guard was at once recognized on all sides as the only military force needed to secure the profoundest peace and safety to the city.

How far the complete organization of the Guard, and the rapid growth of the armory, as the assurance of its permanency, contributed toward hastening the end of the strike and its lawless accompaniments, it may be difficult to decide. There was, as has been stated, a very striking coincidence of events, to say the least, in the demonstration of life in the battalion and the better councils of the strikers.

The leaders of the "Molly Maguires" and of the men who filled the community with threats against the members of the firing squad, and leaders of the military organization, through detectives, became known to the commander of the Guard; and these men received prompt notice from the Major that if any violence should be attempted upon any of the young men engaged in protecting the city, these leaders should be held strictly accountable; and should certainly find themselves elevated in society without visible footing, wherever they might be found. This notification was immediately followed by most salutary results. Quiet, serious observation followed the bluster and threats of violence which were abundant before the notice was given.

On the 30th of October the Thirteenth Infantry, by order of General Hancock, broke camp and left for duty in the South. This was the last fragment of the National troops which had, by their presence, done so much towards restraining violence. By the soldierly bearing and the gentlemanly deportment, both of the men and their officers, they had endeared themselves to all our best people.

These officers had been specially kind to the City Guard, and rendered efficient aid in their organization and drill. They bore away with them, by the hands of their commander, testimonials spontaneously given by the Mayor and signed by a hundred leading men of the city, with special thanks and congratulations from the "City Guard," signed by all the officers. These National troops occupied a very peculiar, not to say



anomalous, position during the whole time of their encampment—one which placed their commander in a delicate position, in which he had to take the whole responsibility of either action or inactivity. There seemed to be a strange reluctance in high places to take any responsibility or to commit the public authorities to any decided action in the time of riot and danger. Col. Morrow was ordered to Scranton in July, and when he arrived with his command in August, found the whole population alarmed and uneasy, business entirely suspended, and quiet maintained only by military watchfulness. He had received no specific orders. Ostensibly, he had been ordered here to guard a certain Railroad which was in the hands of a receiver, who had been appointed by a United States Court. But for four months these troops camped in the city, in fact, to protect the city in its life and property; and in all that time no order or instructions came to the command from any quarter. It was only by concealing this fact that Col. Morrow could be of any use in quelling the tumults of the time, or could give any confidence in the efficiency of his troops. The excellent judgment of the Colonel enabled him to acquit himself nobly in the exigency, and to bear away with him the high respect of the whole city. The same thing in general is to be said of the military administration of Gen. H. S. Huidekoper. He called for orders and instructions in vain.

The Regulars were escorted to the cars by the battalion under command of Captain Merriam, who happened to be the senior officer in the city upon the day of their departure. The effect of this camp of the Regulars upon the character to be taken by the City Guard was very decided. It tended directly to produce a much higher standard of drill, and a more easy and accurate battalion movement, than is usually found in the ordinary National Guard. It is doubtful if ever the Guard lost the impress which was placed upon it by the camp life of these excellent representatives of the National army.

Upon the departure of the United States troops, after the general resumption of industries, the city of Scranton very readily fell into the orderly life which had formerly characterized it. The return to work, was, in a measure, the restoration of confidence to the great body of the people. But the elements of danger were yet too manifest, and the remembrance of the scenes of violence, scarcely passed, was too vivid to allow the intelligent and patriotic citizens to forget the experiences of the past summer, when the very foundations of society were shaken. The use which had been made of the passions of the hour, by demagogues and political leaders, destitute of both conscience and patriotism, had brought a lesson to the honest and intelligent people which they could not soon forget. By magnifying the unhappy differences at issue between the corporations and their employes ; by keeping active the prejudices which ignorance, or depravity, or narrowness of mind alone can originate, and by brazen pretense of sympathy with the laborer and his cause ; these leaders had succeeded in placing in some of the most important offices men who were not only unfit for any public trust whatever, but who had been known to be identified with the worst elements of the striking population. This pushing the election to office along the lines of lawlessness and dishonor, and making the holding of public trusts the reward of bold opposition to just enterprise necessarily in the hands of legal corporations, not only revealed the dangers to which our public institutions are exposed in the mining and manufacturing districts ; but had emphasized the real value of the services which had been rendered by the public officers, who had proved faithful and unflinching in the time of trial.

The most alarming feature of the times, the most startling fact which the unprecedented strike had revealed throughout the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, was the manifest unfitness and unfaithfulness of the civil functionaries who were found holding public trusts, in municipal governments. The excel-

lent and heroic Governor, when he found lawlessness run riot, could count upon the fingers of one of his hands, the whole number of executive officers in the cities and counties where violence prevailed, upon whom he could depend in the measures necessary to quell riots, and maintain the dignity of the law. In many places these officers of the peace openly neglected their trusts. In other places their want of courage and ability drove them to shirk their duty on the flimsiest pretexts; and in some cases these officers not only affiliated with the strikers, but attempted to use the force of official position and power for the protection of law-breakers.

This state of municipal authority, through the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, which the attempt to restore order and the authority of law revealed, had been in great measure the result of carelessness, or of the wilful neglect, of the citizens to fulfill their public duty. The possibility of such an exigency arising that should demand public officers of the most manly type and truest patriotism, had not occurred to the people. But in the anthracite coal fields the results of the election, after the strike had been brought under control, showed a far more dangerous condition in this respect than a mere neglect had ever induced. It was evident that the passions and prejudices which the strike, and the mob, had aroused had been boldly carried into the political canvas. Political demagogues, it would seem, had not hesitated to attempt to legalize lawlessness, and in some instances men were elected to office who, in the judgment of patriotic virtue would have rendered more just and valuable service to the State in its penitentiaries.

It was not unnatural, then, that in such a state of public trusts the people of Scranton should have turned their thoughts toward their faithful officers as soon as quiet had been restored and work resumed. The city had indeed been surprised, when the exigency arose, to find a Mayor in office endowed with true courage and official fidelity. The people were not slow

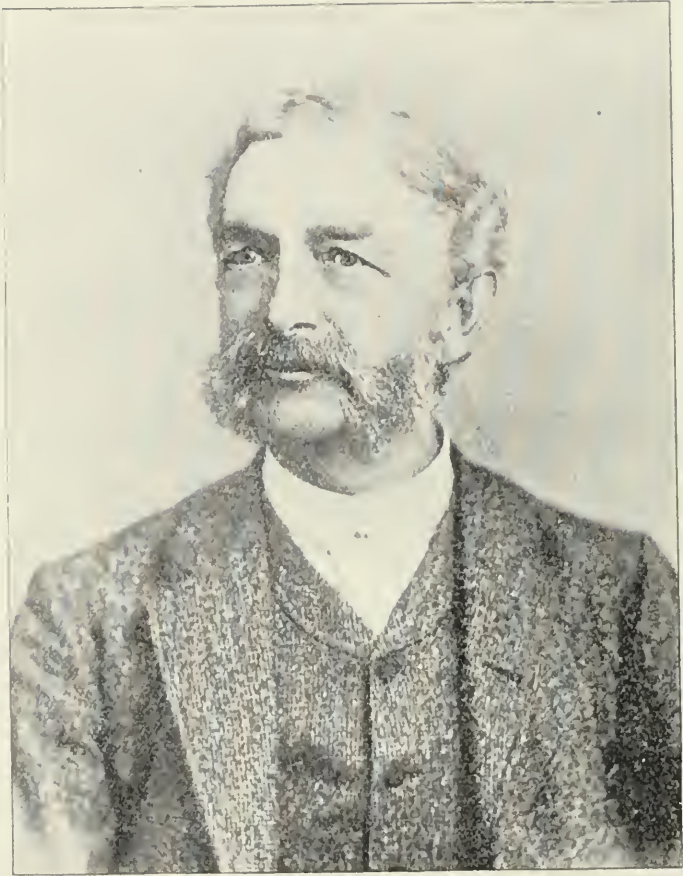
to recognize these virtues when the time came to test them; and now that the ordeal had been safely passed and the city restored to its order under civil administration, it seemed both just and manly for the citizens to give some worthy recognition of the faithful services rendered by his Honor Mayor McKune through his trying term of service.

The justice and propriety of giving some public recognition of the Mayor's fidelity during the time of the strike was suggested by Mr. Joseph J. Albright to a number of the citizens; and under their encouragement he called a meeting of the citizens generally, to give expression to their appreciation of the Mayor's services. This meeting was attended by a large body of the best men of the city. It was organized by the appointment of S. C. Logan chairman, and Henry Belin, Jr., secretary. After a free and full exchange of views, a committee, consisting of the officers of the meeting, with Messrs. Joseph J. Albright, U. G. Schoonmaker and Alfred Hand, was appointed to prepare an address expressing the thanks of the law-abiding citizens to the Mayor, with a statement of their high appreciation of his official fidelity and services during the strike, and the riot which followed it.

This committee prepared an address, which was unanimously adopted as presented by the chairman, and the same committee was authorized to have it engrossed; and when signed by such citizens as might agree with its statements, to present it to the Mayor.

Mr. Albright had this testimonial engrossed at his own expense in a book made for the purpose. This work was done by an expert penman, Mr. Frederick Ward, a native of Honesdale. The address was engrossed in a beautifully illuminated German text, after which it was submitted for signatures without solicitation. It was as follows:





*Robt. H. McKune*



## TESTIMONIAL ADDRESS

TO THE

HONORABLE ROBERT H. MCKUNE,

*Mayor of the City of Scranton, Pa.,*

A. D. 1877.

SIR: The incidents and condition of affairs in the community during the last three months have directed the attention of our law-abiding and order-loving citizens to you, and to your administration, as chief executive of the City of Scranton. In the ordinary conduct of public affairs, it is too often true that the great body of the people are entirely indifferent. They suffer their public servants to bear the common burdens without thought or care, either for their perplexities or for their success or failure. Too busy to interfere, or persuaded that they have acquitted their conscience of all public burdens when they have entered a general protest against the party in power, the great body of our citizens are generally disposed to allow all public officers to conduct the affairs of office with no further inquiry than may be necessary to afford intelligent grounds for fault-finding, or sufficient knowledge for the invention of hindrances, when they suppose the public interest demands it. As long as the government, State or municipal, runs in its accustomed grooves, the average citizen is disposed to pay his taxes, as a necessary evil, and go on the way of his private affairs, practically considering all offices, with their responsibilities, as belonging to the incumbent.

But when the peace of the State becomes involved; when the hand of violence threatens the best interests, civil and material, of the community, the people become aroused to a just appreciation of government and realize the importance of office and the true value of a virtuous officer. Then the character and administration of every officer becomes the matter of public consideration and personal interest. Then the good citizen turns to those in power, to weigh personal character and official integrity with an earnestness which the jeopardy of the most sacred interests arouses.

Such a period has passed over the City of Scranton and its vicinity during the last three months. In the last days of July, 1877, this community, without warning—almost without premonition—were required to face the most serious exigency and the most insidious spirit of evil that has ever yet disturbed the peace of society or threatened the existence of our municipal government. Under the extraordinary and trying exigencies, and under the painful apprehensions arising out of the lawless spirit which swept over the country in July and August, and

especially over the coal regions of Pennsylvania, in connection with the "Engineers' and Miners' Strike," all eyes and all hearts in this community were turned to you. In breathless bewilderment and doubt, our people watched and waited, under your official leadership, to know what could be done for the maintenance of law. The ordeal has now been safely passed; your conduct as a public officer has been fully canvassed and tested, and your fellow-citizens, irrespective of creed or political affiliation, feel constrained, from their Christian manhood and by their sense of justice, to render you a proper and grateful recognition of your faithful, patriotic and wise administration of the heavy duties of your office as *Mayor* under such a trying and long-continued disturbance of the city.

We know that the true reward of a just administration of public trusts, to an honest man, is the testimony of a good conscience, and we are persuaded that you have sought for no other. Yet it is due to ourselves, to our estimate of righteous government and of the best interests of the whole community, that we shall, in our proper places, assure you of the full appreciation of the law-abiding citizens of this community of your truly wise, manly and patriotic fulfillment of duty.

WE THEREFORE THANK YOU, in behalf of ourselves and our children, for your high example of official fidelity under the most extraordinary and trying conditions.

When the city seemed to be helpless, in a chaos of social disorder and apprehension, cut off from the strong arm of the Commonwealth; when State authority could not come to your help, you bravely stood at your post, determined to execute the law and make no compromise with lawlessness. There are times when for a man to stand alone on the rock of the right is to make the position as well as the man sublime.

WE RECOGNIZE your spirit of calmness and wise consideration, which sought to keep back a collision of lawless forces, while the issue could only be disaster;—your earnest desire to prevent violence, in the confidence that a better mind must ultimately assert itself in our bewildered people, who were swayed by unreasoning passion.

WE RECOGNIZE your courage and fidelity when, with half a dozen of your police force, you went out to meet the infuriated multitude from the "Hill of Evil Council," with their lawless and murderous intent partly executed, with the hope of saving the city and protecting human life under the ægis of lawful authority.

WE RECOGNIZE, too, the promptness and manly decision with which, with a handful of our brave young men as special police, you stood at

the risk of life, and while bleeding with wounds, to use deadly force to arrest the mob and exorcise the murderous spirit abroad when everything else failed. We are proud to recall you, with your little band of vigilants, as you stood on that memorable first day of August, as a forlorn hope, to save the city from a wretched desolation and violence, which the condition of other cities of our land at that time proved to be imminent. We not only believe that you and your special police, so wisely organized, did God's service that day, but that our fathers' God was with you, and that under and by his interposition of mercy, this spirit of all evil was arrested, if not subdued, for the whole valley. You fought and won the battle of law and order for all the cities of the region, and lifted the office you fill into its true importance and dignity.

WE RECOGNIZE, too, the unflinching integrity with which, through the succeeding months, you kept watch and ward, and so administered civil affairs as to secure order in the midst of dormant forces, in smouldering passions, and maintain civil authority, while the tramp of soldiers and the temptations of military power surrounded you.

With this, too, we express our sincere appreciation of all your efforts to restore good feeling and so to adjust all the varied elements of our population and interests of our industries as to place our municipal government upon that basis on which alone it can stand, the confidence and patriotic affection of the masses of our people.

For this honest, wise, just and successful administration of authority vested in you, as Mayor of the City of Scranton, WE THANK YOU.

AND WE PRESENT TO YOU this formal and sincere testimonial, as it has been endorsed and adopted, by all our great organizations and associations, religious, moral, beneficent, social and business, and signed by the spontaneous choice of our people, irrespective of party, creed or political considerations.

Wishing you, honored sir, all happiness and prosperity, personally, and a just reward for able and faithful services in your public trusts, we subscribe ourselves truly yours, &c.

This testimonial was voluntarily signed, in the illuminated book, by about two thousand citizens of Scranton and of the immediate vicinity. It had the signatures of Governor Hartman and all the members of his staff, also of all the veterans of 1812 known to be in the county. It contained the signatures of all the Protestant pastors in the city; that of the Directors of the Home for the Friendless, and of the City Hos-

pital. To it also were affixed the signatures of the Officers and Directors of all the Incorporated Companies and Associations, both business and benevolent, represented in the city, and with these the seals of these corporations. It was signed by the "Firing Squad" of August 1st, and by all officers and men of the Scranton City Guard. After all these, many citizens of Carbondale, Pittston, Wilkesbarre, Bethlehem and Pittsburgh, in Pennsylvania, joined those of Elmira, Buffalo and New York city in attaching their names to this recognition of the faithfulness of Mayor McKune.

This testimonial, with its beautiful expression so spontaneously given, became a lasting memorial of the appreciation which a patriotic people may be always expected to have of the fidelity of public officials in times of trial and danger. In this case it was only the more marked from the fact that until the day of the riot in the streets, the great body of intelligent citizens had openly expressed their want of faith in their chief magistrate, while the city council had recorded their censure of him. Perhaps this spontaneous expression may have even a deeper and wider meaning than that of the appreciation of this public officer, who proved himself much more worthy than his constituents expected. Is it not the natural expression of that native and imperishable reverence for law on which American institutions are planted, and without which they must perish? This testimonial carries with it the American free-man's warning to all political tinkers, all remodellers of society, and demagogues, who are ever busy attempting to control business and trade, for both capital and workmen, for their own benefit; that there is in this free land something which is even esteemed more sacred than life itself.

There was no respectable citizen of the city who did not regret that blood had to be shed on the first day of August in the street at noon day. But when the man who had been set to execute the law, and who stood to represent the dignity of

government was spurned and insulted; and then murderously attacked by men bent upon righting their own assumed wrongs, an issue was joined in which no compromise was possible, and the consequences must be accepted by those who brought it.

Constitutional government in every community is the demand of all American life. Law among freemen is but an open bargain, expressing justice and fair play; and whoever comes into the compact must stand to its covenants as well as share its blessings; else take the consequences of his failure. He may ask for pity who finds himself the victim of his own wicked folly, but there is no law upon which he may reasonably demand or hope for sympathy.

Old Governor Hardin used to regale his associates at the bar, in early times in Kentucky, with the details of a case which he had tried on the frontier. It was a case which has never been reported in the books. It may be well to report it here, as it certainly has a lesson which all that multitude, who cry for sympathy on behalf of those who by transgression have learned that law is a real thing, would do well to profit by. Law has no damages to pay to the transgressor for suffering its own penalties. The case was this:

A new County had been surveyed in Southern Kentucky, through which flowed that historic Salt River within whose mysterious windings so many political adventurers have vanished, ever propelled against the current. The County-seat had been located at the geographical centre without reference to the convenience of officials. It happened to be on the bank of the peaceful river. When the Court discovered the place, it found nothing but a deserted cabin, with its empty corn-crib and an ash-leach in solitary dilapidation. The cabin was large enough to accommodate the judge and jury, with the necessary lawyers. But the people, who had gathered from miles around, had no shelter, as all prisoners were assigned to



the Crib. They spent the night in the open air, gathered about a log-heap fire. To entertain themselves and while away the night-watches they organized a community with its constitution and statutes, all of which were intelligently and solemnly adopted. Each member signified his adherence, and accepted his citizenship, by taking his place in the row which stood around the fire. The organization complete, the new commonwealth proceeded to business. The first order, unanimously adopted, was the requirement of a song from each member in the order of his standing. If any citizen refused to sing, he must treat his fellow-citizens, of course. But if he did sing, he should be respectfully listened to, after which all citizens should be allowed to vote upon the question put by the presiding official in this form: "Did the gentleman tote the tune, or did the tune tote the gentleman?"

If it should be decided that the tune "toted the gentleman," he should be pitched feet foremost over the ash-leach on the banks of the river, and possibly he might slide into the water; if the condition of the mud should permit. Such was the governmental compact of the new commonwealth in this wilderness on the banks of Salt River.

After a number of citizens had declined to sing and had paid the penalty, a young Hebrew, who had music in his soul, as well as Jews'-harps in his pack, agreed to sing. The citizens all listened silently and respectfully until the singer ceased. Then they stood up and voted solemnly upon the call of the roll, when it was found by unanimous judgment that "the tune toted the gentleman." The appointed officers immediately threw him over the leach. He slid down the bank and was taken up with a broken leg.

The next morning he entered suit in the Court against his fellow-citizens for damages for his broken limb. All day long the case lasted, and was conducted by the best lawyers the bar afforded. But the jury decided upon the showing of the facts



that no claim for damages could lie. It was an open bargain which infringed no man's liberty. The plaintiff had agreed to the law when he entered the commonwealth. His associates had done him no wrong. They had not even compelled him to sing. The law of the commonwealth must be maintained, whosoever legs may happen to suffer. So the case was closed. So must it ever be in a commonwealth of freemen. Whatever song the men who propose to run public affairs for American citizens, or to order the conduct of business for capitalists, or for working men, may choose to sing, they must expect the final vote of their audience. They must meet also the decisions of the law under which the song is sung, in a sentence from which there is no appeal. They take the risks, and there can be no demand for either sympathy or damages, for him who has voluntarily sung his song and found consequences which surprise both his audience and himself. It is a sad spectacle to see men shot to the death for their wicked folly, but it is far worse to see law and order trodden down by an angry mob. Men must consider what they do who trifle with that force without which liberty and Christian civilization are impossible.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## THE CITY GUARD IN THE WILDERNESS.

The Problems of Civil Organization and Financial Administration—The Rubbish cleared away—Foundations laid which demand a Superstructure—The Armory completed and dedicated—The Guard at Home.

FROM the time the contract for building the Armory was signed the work was pushed with vigor and honest purpose by the contractor, under the efficient supervision of Captain Amsden, the architect. The foundations were completed in a short time, and everything was made ready for laying the corner-stone, which it was determined to have done with Masonic ceremonies. The reason for such a determination possibly might be found in the fact that there were so few of the members of this order enrolled in the Guard. The fourteenth day of November was appointed for this public ceremony, and on that day the battalion was ordered out. At two o'clock, P.M., the Guard formed on Lackawanna Avenue, in front of their temporary armory, and marched, by way of Wyoming, to Spruce Street. Here they were joined by the grand lodges of the Knights Templar, under command of James Ruthven. In this procession the Scranton lodge had been joined by the lodges from Wilkes Barre, from Pittston and from Carbondale, all of whom had come to do honor to the occasion. The battalion escorted these lodges and led them in front of the armory foundation. This foundation had been completed and the first floor partly laid. Here the ranks of the Guard were opened and the Knights marched between

them, taking their position on the floor, in front of the battalion. As soon as the Major, with his staff, had taken his position between the two bodies of men, Mayor McKune stepped upon the platform, and with an appropriate address, presented to the Guard a beautiful regimental flag of the State of Pennsylvania, on behalf of the ladies of Scranton. Major Boies received this flag with an appropriate response of thanks to the patriotic ladies, and unfurled it, while the Guard received it with military salute.

After prayer, by the chaplain, Mr. Edward P. Kingsbury, Grand Master of the Masons, was introduced, and proceeded at once to lay the corner-stone according to the forms of that society. When this work was completed, the orator chosen for the occasion, General E. S. Osborne, was introduced and entertained the audience with an excellent and appropriate address, which was received with prolonged cheers.

The pageant was witnessed by an immense crowd of people and created new interest and enthusiasm both among the Guard and their friends. The unexpected and patriotic act of the ladies in presenting the flag was received with special gratification by all the companies. The ladies who had suggested and carried through this enterprise were understood to be Mrs. H. M. Boies, the wife of the Major, and daughter of Mr. Thomas Dickson, and Miss Frances Boyd, the only daughter of Dr. George B. Boyd. But there must have been fifty or a hundred of the ladies of the best society of the city who were interested and contributed to the end proposed.

Thus the enterprise of building the armory was fairly and publicly launched, but the whole fund necessary to complete it was yet to be provided.

The Major, with the advice of the Chaplain, and with the consent of the Board of Officers, had involved the whole Guard in the enterprise, and had determined to push it through as a necessity, in order to the success of the military movement.

Very soon perplexity and trouble began to be manifest. Murmurs generated by complaints of some of the rank and file, who had not yet learned that military matters cannot be conducted entirely upon civil principles, began to work as a leaven in the whole battalion. Rumors began to take shape in definite complaints; and a demand was made for the consideration of matters by the Companies before the Guard should be committed to any enterprise involving an expenditure of money. The questions involved were exceedingly perplexing, while the steps already taken were manifestly not only wise, but absolutely necessary. The Chaplain spent his time smoothing down the corners of controversy and seeking to secure peace and good feeling. The Board of Officers gathered in consultation and used their best wisdom to devise a scheme by which the Guard could be incorporated, and so be prepared to hold property legally and complete the enterprise so auspiciously begun without a cent in the treasury. As the result of the various consultations of the Board of Officers, and of the discussions in the meetings of the Companies, a business meeting of the Battalion was at length called by the Major. This meeting was held in the hall of the Second National Bank on Thursday evening, November 22d, 1877. At this meeting there were present thirteen commissioned officers and one hundred and nine enlisted men.

The meeting was organized by calling Lieutenant Samuel Hines to the Chair, and appointing Quartermaster Ruthven Secretary. Major Boies stated the object of the meeting as two-fold: FIRST, to hear a financial statement of the affairs of the Guard; and SECOND, to adopt some plan for the incorporation of the Guard under the laws of the State, so that it could hold property and transact business.

Before submitting the financial report prepared by the Board of Officers, the Major made a clear and full statement of all his transactions, including all contracts made for uniforms at

\$17.50 per man, and the purchase of the lots for the armory; with the reasons which compelled the beginning of the work of building the armory without delay. He also gave a history of the plans and the letting of the contract to the lowest bidder, fixing the estimated cost at about eight thousand dollars, all of which was yet to be provided for.

The financial statement of the Board of Officers was then submitted, as follows:—

## RECEIPTS.

Subscriptions to the Battalion Fund received.....	\$5734.00
Subscription to Color Fund from the Ladies.....	100.05
Total of receipts.....	<u>\$5834.05</u>

## EXPENDITURES.

Expended as per vouchers.....	<u>\$2867.20</u>
Cash in Bank (Third National).....	\$2966.85
Amount of unpaid subscription.....	800.00
State appropriation, now due.....	<u>2400.00</u>
Making the available resources of the Guard.....	\$6166.85

## LIABILITIES.

For Armory lots.....	\$4000.00
To Iron and Coal Company, for cloth.....	927.34
To Evans & Co., of Philadelphia, for uniforms....	842.76
To Hunt Bros. bill.....	<u>29.18</u>
Total of liabilities.....	<u>\$5799.28</u>
Balance.....	\$367.57

This statement was referred to an auditing committee, who subsequently reported it as entirely correct; the auditing committee being constituted by the appointment of one member from each Company, as follows: Company A, Henry E. Hess; B, Wm. J. Watts; C, Charles E. Judson; D, A. W. Dickson.

As soon as this financial report had been disposed of, and the course of the Major and Board of Officers had been cor-

dially approved by unanimous vote, the second object of the meeting was taken up. According to the best calculations, founded upon the contracts already made, at least eight thousand dollars must be raised before the Armory could be completed, and the first payment on the contract would be due December 1st.

Major Boies stated with great clearness the present exigency, and the steps he conceived necessary to be taken. Of course, the first thing to be done would be to incorporate the Guard in some way, in order to the holding of the property already acquired, and to the transaction of the business necessary to the sustaining of the Guard. He stated that he, with Mr. Henry Belin, and other members of the battalion, had attempted to borrow the eight thousand dollars required, upon a pledge of the lots for security, agreeing to repay the amount in annual installments of twenty per cent., with interest at seven per cent.,—that they had even offered, personally, to guarantee these payments for two years. But they could find no capitalist in Scranton, in New York, in Philadelphia or Wilmington, Del., who was willing to furnish the money.

The board of officers, after much discussion and conference with the best business men in the Guard, finally agreed to recommend, FIRST: That the Guard should be incorporated under the form of a "limited partnership," as the more convenient organization, and especially because such an organization could be completed without delay, while it would require, at least, two months to secure an ordinary charter through the courts. It was proposed to limit the stock to eight thousand dollars, in three hundred and twenty shares at twenty-five dollars a share. This plan proposed a board of directors composed of three members chosen from each company, and three from the field and staff, and the partnership to run for ten years.

It was proposed to use the yearly appropriation of six



hundred dollars to each company from the State, for armory rent, amounting to twenty-four hundred dollars, for the gradual payment of the stock. In order to make the stock popular, it was proposed to pay to the stockholders annually twenty per cent. of their stock, with seven per cent. interest, until the stock should be entirely redeemed; then to pay six per cent. on the par value of this stock as long as the partnership should continue.

The presentation of this scheme led to long and animated discussion among the business men of the Guard. Finally, in order to end the discussion, on motion of Henry E. Hess, the whole matter was referred to a general committee, composed of three members from each company, which committee should first obtain the judgment of the company appointing them, and then report to a business meeting of the battalion. The several companies then organized and appointed these committees as follows :

Company (A) H. E. Hess, J. H. Torrey and J. C. Highriter.

Company (B) E. F. Chamberlin, John T. Howe and W. K. Logan.

Company (C) L. A. Watres, J. A. Culver and C. E. Judson.

Company (D) E. B. Sturges, S. B. Price and A. W. Dickson.

The business meeting then adjourned until Saturday, November 24th, at 7.30, P.M., in order to give these committees time to act. On the 24th the battalion met according to adjournment, and finding each company had a majority of its members present, proceeded to take up the questions of civil organization and of the raising of the fund necessary to meet the armory contract.

The committee appointed by the companies by their chairman, Alexander W. Dickson, presented an unanimous report, which covered the whole case, as far as it was possible, at that time. After full discussion and some amendments, suggested by companies A and D, this report was unanimously adopted.

By this action the chaos began to be reduced to order, and the perplexing position of the Major and Board of Officers was relieved.

The main points determined were as follows:—

*First*, That the Battalion should at once be incorporated under the name, style and title of "The Scranton City Guard Association."

*Second*, That a committee of one member from each company should be appointed to secure a charter under the law, take subscriptions for bonds, and secure titles to property belonging to the guard. Also that hereafter, in the direction and government of the association, each company and the battalion headquarters should be equally represented.

*Third*, That the association should issue bonds to the amount of its indebtedness, but not to exceed eighty-five hundred dollars. These bonds to be redeemable in five years, and absolutely payable in ten years, with the interest on them payable semi-annually at six per cent.

*Fourth*, That each company should apply annually two-thirds of its State appropriation, for a sinking fund for the redemption of these bonds, and for the payment of interest and taxes; also that one-half of this amount should be used for the payment of interest and taxes, and the other half placed in the sinking fund.

*Fifth*, That these bonds should be offered to outside parties before members of the Guard were asked to take them.

*Sixth*, That each company should at once vote its whole appropriation from the State to the battalion fund, under the above regulation.

*Seventh*, That each company should elect one man to act on a committee, of which Major Boies should be chairman, to carry on the armory work, and any other business of the Guard, until the "Association" should complete its organization, and have full power to act.

By these measures the battalion was at once harmonized, and a spirit of generous unity created. The clouds which the fault-finding spirit had generated, were dissipated at once, and all criticism of the energetic and devoted commander was strangled and buried by the following resolutions, which were introduced by Mr. Hess, of Company A, and earnestly seconded by Corporal Dickson, of Company D; to wit.:

"WHEREAS: Major Boies has presented his report to this battalion, which covers all acts and plans hitherto pursued, and which satisfactorily accounts for all moneys received and disbursed, under direction of the officers of the battalion; therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of the battalion are hereby cordially tendered, *1st.* to the citizens' committee, Messrs. Logan, Willard and Gilmore, and the generous contributors for their prompt provision of the funds needed to organize and equip the guard. *2d.* to the Major and the staff and line officers, for their carefulness and diligent labor in disbursing the same for the benefit of the battalion, according to their best judgment; and this battalion hereby renews its determination to strive, by all proper means and reasonable sacrifices, to prove itself worthy of the high compliments and generous support of the city, whose guard it proposes to be."

This endorsement of the course taken by the Major, and his counsellors, was adopted with great enthusiasm, and the pledge contained therein was taken by open, individual response, and a unanimous vote.

The Major responded modestly and briefly to the compliments tendered him by the command; when, by a separate resolution he was authorized to borrow, on behalf of the guard, such amounts of money as might be needed to meet outstanding obligations, while the negotiation of the bonds was being attempted.

The committee, provided for in the action of the battalion to secure the charter and carry on the work, in conjunction with Major Boies and the Chaplain; who were the only members of the original committee on armory who were still acting, was

constituted by Company elections on the same evening, as follows: Robert Macmillan, of Company A; R. B. Merriam, of Company B; H. A. Coursen, of Company C; E. B. Sturges, of Company D. These gentlemen entered upon their work with promptness, and prosecuted it with energy; but ultimately this work fell chiefly into the hands of Messrs. Sturges and Logan.

E. B. Sturges, Esq., was appointed a sub-committee to draw up all necessary legal papers and secure the charter of the association. After careful examination of the law in the case, and consideration of all the interests involved, a charter was secured by Mr. Sturges, which incorporated, as a stock company, the battalion under the title of "The Scranton City Guard Association." This charter gave the association twenty years of existence, and was dated January 14th, 1878.

Mr. Charles E. Judson was appointed, with Major Boies, to have charge of the whole work of constructing and furnishing the armory, and this committee was given full power to act.

A Board of Managers was appointed in due time, and in accordance with the provisions of the charter, which was made up of an equal representation from the four companies and the battalion headquarters, each of these having one member nominated by the companies and elected by the association. The first Board consisted of George B. Foster, from Company A; William Kellow, Company B; H. A. Coursen, Company C; E. B. Sturges, Company D; Major Boies, from headquarters; and Lieutenant L. A. Watres, already the treasurer of the Board of Officers, was appointed treasurer of this Board of Directors, and acted for the civil organization until he was succeeded by Robert Macmillan, the adjutant of the guard.

It was at length determined to issue the stock in one-fifth shares to each member of the Guard at the completion of a

year's honorable service, until the full term of five years' enlistment should be completed, when each member honorably discharged as a veteran should possess one full share of stock, and each certificate of one-fifth entitled the holder to one vote in all business of the association.

Under this arrangement the companies turned over all their State appropriations to the expense of the building, and paid their assessments for the running expenses of the battalion, until all the debts of the Guard were paid; understanding that at the end of five years the holders of the stock would be the owners of the property,—under this restriction, however, according to the charter, that the property could only be held and used for the support and maintenance of "the Scranton City Guard." But the most pressing necessity was that of immediately securing the money for the payment of the contract on the armory, which was rapidly being pushed to completion.

It was determined by the Board of Managers to issue eight bonds in the denomination of one thousand dollars each, and one bond of five hundred dollars; in all amounting to eighty-five hundred dollars, at six per cent. interest. These bonds were to be secured by a mortgage upon the armory lots, with their improvements; the said mortgage to be held by a board of three trustees for the bondholders, and at least one of these bonds redeemable each year.

These bonds were ready for the market the latter part of November, 1877, and were placed in the hands of the Chaplain, with the urgent request of the president of the Board of Managers, Mr. E. B. Sturges, that he would give himself to the work of placing them. The Chaplain accepted the work, and followed it up with persistence until they were all sold, and their value was placed in the treasury before the building was completed. These bonds were taken by gentlemen connected with the First National Bank, the Lackawanna

Iron and Coal Company, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, and the Pennsylvania Coal Company, as a business transaction, while each of these companies manifested a readiness to treat the Guard with great generosity.

The five hundred dollar bond was taken by the Honorable William E. Dodge, of New York City, who at once returned it to the Chaplain of the Guard, under the agreement that it should remain "a perpetual bond," the interest of which, at six per cent. should be annually paid to the Chaplain of the Guard to meet his own expenses while on duty, or to be expended by him in aiding such deserving members of the Guard as were unable to pay their dues and assessments, or meet their personal expenses in the performance of military duty. This, Mr. Dodge stipulated, should be called "The Chaplain's Bond."

The five hundred dollars for which this bond was sold were paid to the treasurer of the association, and a special receipt taken by the Chaplain, as ordered by the Board of Managers and the Board of Officers. In April of 1880 this bond was cancelled, with the consent of the Chaplain, in order to be able to cancel the mortgage upon which all the bonds were issued; *and upon the pledge of the Board of Managers that a new bond should be issued to the Chaplain, or that the obligations of the covenant, growing out of the acceptance of the money by the association, should be met in some other practical form.* The interest upon this bond continues to be paid to the Chaplain, and has each year been expended by him in accordance with the design of the generous donor.

By the sale of these bonds the association was able to meet all the payments upon the contract for the building of the armory, and on the 20th of March, 1878, a receipt in full was taken from the builder. All claims upon the armory were cancelled at that time except the mortgage held in trust for the



bondholders as security for the payment of the bonds, as they should become due.

Thus, through the persevering efforts of the Board of Managers, sustained by the self-sacrificing fidelity and generosity of the whole command, the finances of the battalion were reduced to order, and the whole membership was set to work upon a plan, by which it was expected to place the City Guard upon an independent and permanent footing within five years.

It would be, perhaps, invidious to distinguish, by special mention, the men worthy of special honor in the service in which all members of the Guard gave their hearty co-operation, according to their ability and opportunity. Yet the historian would fail of making a just record, if no mention is made of individuals, to whose wisdom and faithful service, even in the face of misinterpretation and consequent fault-finding, the success was evidently due.

The civil administration of a military organization is both perplexing, and without the rewards of conspicuous honor. The Commissary and Quartermaster are awarded a very small proportion of the glory of successful warfare, under any circumstances; and they may be easily saddled with a disproportionate share of the shame of the disastrous retreat. The real sinews of war, as those of the human frame, are all covered from sight, and their appearance upon the outside would generally be taken as a creditable evidence that they are weak and unreliable. Yet all history shows that, while honorable mention is never made of the men in the rear of the battle, unless by some abnormal accident they are brought to the front, every wise commander is constantly careful to protect his communications and his base of supplies. If he is wise and just he will give due honor to the men who are efficient and faithful in the administration.

We conceive it then but a matter of simple justice to some of the best citizens and friends of the military organization,

who appear in this civil, and financial, service of the Guard that a record of their names at least should be made.

The first of these men who should have honorable mention in the civil administration, without question, is Edward B. Sturges, Esq., who served five years, with manifestly no desire for military preferment, as a private of Company D in the rear rank. Mr. Sturges always maintained his own unfitness, or incapacity, as he expressed it, for the duties of a soldier. Without question or objection, he paid all fines for delinquency and assessments by the company, and appeared on all inspections for five years with a clean record, while he as persistently got excused from weekly drills and avoided dress parades.

He was always conspicuous for his manly and Christian integrity; and none ever doubted his unflinching courage, or the worthiness of his service, if the Guard should be called into actual field service. But he was the only man in the battalion who was able to maintain a genuine popularity in his company and in the Guard for five years, while he persistently and constantly shirked the play, and the forms, and the drudgery of the soldier's life.

As president of the Board of Managers, Mr. Sturges took up the work of the civil administration, and pushed it forward with wisdom and perseverance until the Guard was placed on a stable basis. While his military inspection or his attendance on drill were constantly of a sort to add no great amount of glory to the Guard, his devotion to the real interests involved, and his manly integrity, kept him in step with the battalion; and made him a counsellor for the Guard, always loved and trusted. The City of Scranton has had few citizens more devoted to its best interests or more worthy of true honor.

There were also many citizens not directly enrolled in the Guard who, by their generosity and financial wisdom, rendered service which ought not to be forgotten. Among these

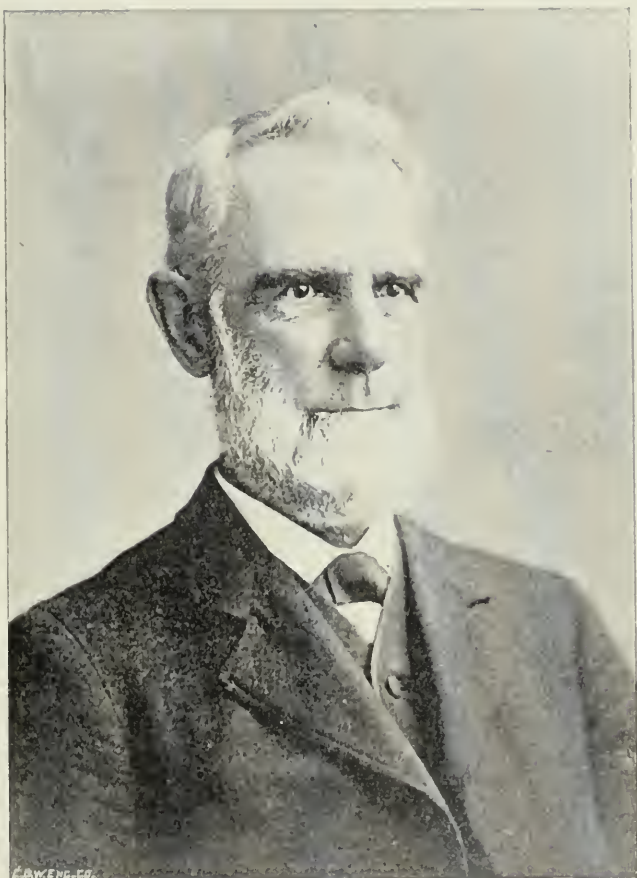
were William F. Hallstead, Superintendent of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railway, and James W. Fowler, his assistant, who counseled the Chaplain and afforded him all possible facilities, and help, in placing the armory bonds. Mr. Hallstead was a man of unflinching integrity in the administration of his high trust. Through the years of this history he was unwearied in his generous efforts to help on the boys in their attempt to make the Guard worthy of the support of the city. To him as the representative of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railway Company, and to William R. Storrs, the General Coal Agent, the battalion is indebted for a series of favors, which greatly encouraged both officers and men. This company took a number of the Armory bonds at their face, and returned one of a thousand dollars, canceled for the benefit of the organization.

The Directors of this great corporation, under the administration of such men as Samuel Sloan, their President, Moses Taylor, the Hon. William E. Dodge, Sr., Percy R. Pyne, Hon. William Walter Phelps, Hon. John Brisbin and B. G. Clarke took a generous interest in all the efforts to establish the City Guard. They helped efficiently to lift the burdens from the shoulders of the young men.

The Directors and officials of the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company manifested a like generosity in the support of all measures taken by the citizens to preserve order, and protect the city; not only on and before the day of the riot, when their own property was peculiarly exposed, but in all the after-struggles to protect the young men who dispersed the mob, and in the long watch and work, which established the City Guard. Under the leadership of Mr. W. W. Scranton, their General Manager, this company provided the counsel who defended the firing squad, and paid all the bills of cost in their trial. They furnished most of the effective guns for the defense of the city, and allowed their property to be used

for headquarters for the organization of the Guard. Among the directors of this company should be especially mentioned Mr. Joseph Curtis Platt and Mr. James Blair, of Scranton, who identified themselves thoroughly and personally, as well as officially, with the work and burdens of the Guard. Mr. Platt seemed to have nothing he was not ready to turn over to the service of the boys, in their brave undertaking. His beautiful grounds he allowed them to convert into a drill and parade ground, and in all exigencies stood with them. John I. Blair, of New Jersey, became also conspicuous for his support of the Guard. Through his generosity several thousand dollars of the bonds were taken, and he returned one of these cancelled for the benefit of the enterprise. The officials of this company, who were citizens of Scranton, without exception, have always been leaders in the enterprises which have conserved the well-being of the city. But Mr. Charles F. Mattes deserves special record, not only for his high personal excellence, and his perpetual sacrifices and benevolence; in all matters which concerned the public good, but specially for his untiring patriotic devotion to the right, in the time of peril. With the truest sympathy for the honest workman; one of whom he has been all his life, through a long public service he opposed with all the force of his nature any deflection from the plain path of honor and honesty. He stood ready to divide his last dollar to aid in the maintenance of truth and order. The City Guard never had a better or more reliable friend. Without his knowledge, his portrait has been placed in this work by his appreciative friends, who knew perfectly what the result must be if his consent had been asked; and yet who felt that it is but right to perpetuate the shadow of the worthy man who has been the servant of the city's best interests in all its history.

Mr. Thomas Dickson, the President of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, was endowed remarkably with



*C. F. Matter*





practical wisdom, and had the confidence and best wishes of more of the workmen in the valley, perhaps, than any other man; and he did great service in all the labor disturbances which visited the valley. But in the time of the great strike he was residing in New York. His visit to Scranton, with other railway-men, doubtless did much good in the way of softening down the points of collision, and when he returned, it was with the persuasion that the strike was virtually ended. He was always a man of peace, and had great influence with honest strikers. Hence he was always a little doubtful of the wisdom and necessity of dispersing with deadly means the mob which he did not see. Nevertheless he sustained, with characteristic generosity, all the measures undertaken to establish a City Guard of the best character. The city never had a more able or greater-souled citizen than Mr. Dickson, nor the young men of the Guard a better friend.

With him were associated intimately Mr. Joseph J. Albright, Edward W. Weston, A. H. Vandling and J. M. Chittenden, officials of the same company, all of whom heartily and perseveringly watched over the city's interests, and gave freely their money to help to bear the grievous burdens of the time.

The movers in this public measure, of establishing an armory and of placing the City Guard upon an assured footing, must also hold in honor and cherish in kind remembrance a large number of the best citizens of that time. They were men to be relied upon to sustain the right under all circumstances. They were such citizens as Frederick Fuller, who knew no fear in the path of duty, Wm. Connell, Wm. T. Smith, Geo. L. Dickson, Robert T. Black, Dr. B. H. Throop, Sidney Broadbent, George Sanderson, Edward Merrifield, Alfred Hand, C. W. Roesler, James Archbald, Joseph A. Scranton, John Jermy, E. C. Fuller, Wm. F. Mattes, C. D. Breck, H. S. Pierce, Geo. A. Jessup, Thomas Moore, and a host of others; men who bear through life the patent of a true nobility, the

marks of virtuous American citizenship. They were all successful working men, and their sympathies were always with honest working men. But when the question of law and order, which was directly involved in the strike of 1877, became the issue, they boldly risked all their interests in the city, which were apparently at the mercy of the strikers. They marched with the boys to the front and stood by them until their standing was secured. These constituted the reserve force, without whose generous and patriotic support, the venture of the young men must have ended in failure. These friends of the City Guard deserve perpetual gratitude of the city, as well as of the Guard, for their devotion to the best interests of this organization, which in its earlier life stood as the most efficient barrier to that dangerous spirit which was generated by the great strike of 1877 and kept alive for some years after the strike ended.

The work on the armory, under the supervision of architect Amsden, went steadily forward, while the board of managers perplexed themselves over rapidly accumulating bills, and the Chaplain attempted to gather funds out of the wrecks of the terrible strike, notwithstanding the dullness of business and the financial strain upon all classes. The elements conspired to retard the completion of the building, consequently the contractor was two full months behind his agreement. His work was, however, generously accepted, and the 31st of January was set apart for the grand opening and dedication of the completed Armory.

Efficient committees were appointed under the general supervision of Quartermaster Ruthven. The building was magnificently decorated, and invitations sent to all the friends of the Guard in the city, to the Governor, and other public functionaries, in the State, and a large number of distinguished men of the Commonwealth. When the evening arrived, the Guard, in uniform, every officer and private present, were pre-

pared to welcome their friends. The night proved to be very stormy, but the enthusiasm could neither be drowned nor frozen.

By nine o'clock, P.M., the new building, grandly illuminated, was filled with as brilliant a company of guests as the city had ever been able to gather together.

Major Boies presided, and at half-past nine o'clock, in company with his staff, he mounted the platform, accompanied by the invited speakers for the occasion. After reading telegrams of regrets from the Governor and other distinguished gentlemen who had not been able to come, the Major introduced the speakers of the evening, who were received with enthusiastic greetings.

The first address was made by A. H. Winton, of the Scranton bar; in which he paid a high tribute to the citizen soldiery, and especially to that portion which had sprung from the stand that was taken by the brave fifty, who, on the first of August, had placed themselves between the city and the mob that sought its ruin. He praised the perseverance and public spirit which brought about as its consummation this beautiful Armory for the first time opened.

The Hon. Stanley Woodward, of Wilkes-Barre, was next introduced as the invited orator of the occasion. Judge Woodward's address was both appropriate and graceful; chiefly demonstrating that the destruction of the war spirit is to be secured by the completeness of the preparations for war.

He stated that the peace, safety and good order of any community very much depended, in times of passion and excitement, upon its ability to destroy; that when catapults and battering rams, or flint-lock fire-arms were the weapons of society, war was chronic. Modern warfare is acute, and every new invention in death-dealing fire-arms is a new argument for peace and good will. To have good arms, and know when and how to use them, to preserve organization and be able to

understand orders and obey them—in short, to be a force in the community, every military body must have a local habitation like this Armory, which we dedicate to-night.

This building is not only harmonious and graceful in its architecture, but is in perfect accord also with all the interests which hang upon the prevalence of peace, and the supremacy of order. It will ever stand as a menace only to that which is bad.

The soldiers who are to occupy this armory are citizen-soldiers, and it is true that in all great emergencies the citizens look to themselves.

Judge Woodward's address was received with enthusiastic demonstrations throughout, both as forceful and appropriate. He was followed by his honor, Mayor McKune, who briefly expressed his confidence in the Guard, and his gratification that they had secured so comfortable a home.

After a few complimentary remarks by General Osborne, the Chaplain of the Guard was introduced as a representative of the battalion, and gave a short address, after which the Major declared the armory sufficiently dedicated as a convenience for war, and led the public into the happy social enjoyments of the evening.

At a late hour the brilliant company, having been refreshed, and heartily sympathizing in the success with which the efforts of the Guard had been crowned, departed to their homes, and a new and permanent mark of the city's progress appeared on the first morning of February, 1878.

The completed Armory had, besides the drill room, on the first floor, a convenient company room for each of the four companies which were assigned by lot; and on the second floor three rooms, which were appointed—one for headquarters, one for the Quartermaster, and one for Adjutant of the Guard.

The battalion received new life, and the work of real military discipline began to take shape from the first day this

armory was occupied. And while time and service have demonstrated that it might be improved greatly to the convenience and satisfaction of the Guard, it has become historic, and has associated with it the manly determinations, experiences and enjoyments in patriotic duty of a whole generation of the best young men of the city.

Crowned with its silent sentinel ever on duty, and glorified by the flag of a free country, it has stood all these years as a beacon to the true and faithful citizens, and an emphatic admonition to all the lawless.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## THE BONDAGE OF THE BONDS.

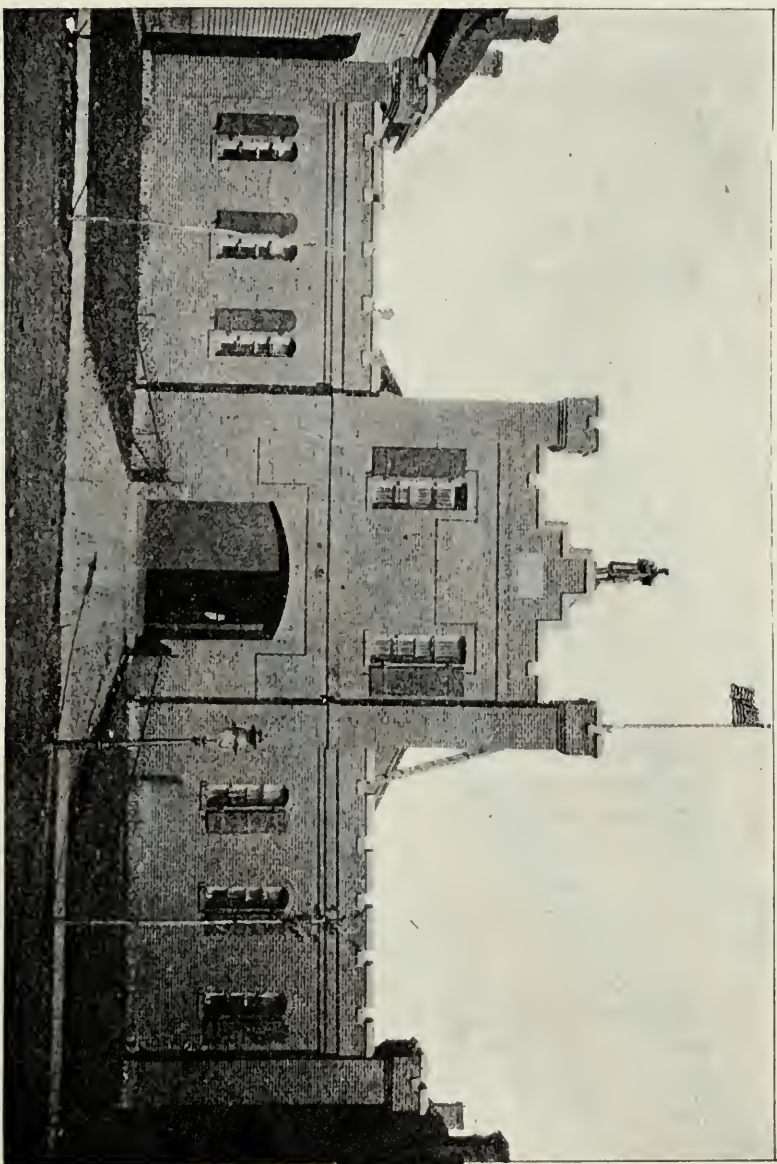
The call for "the Reserves"—The "Grand Rounds" and the "Relief"—The Military Fair and its Results.

THE 1st day of February, 1878, dawned to shed a glow of sunlight after the persistent storm and rage of the elements, under whose exhibitions the Armory had been dedicated the night before. Snow and sleet had covered the ragged deformities and fag ends of architecture, left by the builders, all about the walls of the new home of the Guard; and the flood of light made these very deformities cheering.

The beauties of the landscape gave no prophecies of the future sacrifice and patriotic effort yet needed in order to the highest success of the Guard. By high devotion and persevering sacrifice, the building had been completed in a substantial manner. The Companies, which for almost five months had been wandering about the streets, seeking shelter for the uniforms they had honored, and the guns with which they had been entrusted, took possession of their new rooms, with an exhilaration and satisfaction which could hardly permit a wise consideration of either present responsibilities or future possibilities. So many burdens had been removed by this one triumph, that neither officers nor men could bring themselves to consider the real and increasing burdens which the very success had entailed.

As the débris of the building and the deformities of the high way leading to it, were transformed by the enchantments of





ARMORY OF SCRANTON CITY GUARD, 1878.



the frost and sunlight, which, for a time, led us all to forget that here were deformities which must be removed at the expense of unselfish sacrifices and exhaustive labor; so the beauty and comfort of the drill-rooms had, for a time, hid the consideration of bonds and mortgages entirely from view.

It is indeed an ungrateful service to be required to stand in the midst of the "sufficiency of the day" to gaze into an empty treasury, in order to be suitably impressed with the coming evils of a to-morrow. The triumphs, whose substantial realities had been set forth in convenient architecture, and made palpable by brick, mortar and stone, were no proper preparation for the study of the laws of a hard economy, or of the strict demands of associated honor and honesty.

For a few months the life of the battalion flowed on, filled with energy and good humor. The chaos of financial administration flowed on with it; aggravated by the complexity and cross lines of civil and military administration which were found running between the Headquarters and the Company rooms. While the whole condition was more perplexed by the indefinite and necessary relations between the military Headquarters and the legally responsible "Board of The Scranton City Guard Association."

The Bonds of the Association were out for eight thousand five hundred dollars, and all its property was covered by the mortgage which included, as well, in its relentless grasp, the moral character of the military battalion. All aid that could be hoped for from the State was already in honor pledged to the redemption of these bonds, which hung over the march of the Guard, while the accumulating expenses of the battalion could not be postponed. The scheme devised for the conduct of business and financial administration, looked beautiful in its harmony. Indeed it was unobjectionable in theory; but in its practical administration there were revealed some of the same difficulties which Gov. Shelby found in command of

his Kentucky gentlemen, in the war of 1812, when he discovered, it was said, that he had in his command a thousand more officers than men, all told. A certain amount of friction, in such a case, would seem to be inevitable.

The civil administration had its treasury and its treasurer. The "Board of Officers" made connection therewith by the appointment of the same man to fill the same office for the Military Board. "The Board of Officers" also had its permanent committees; one on "Armory," one on "Music," one on the "State of the Guard," and one on "Finance." Each of these committees assumed to be master of expenditures in its own department, subject to the endorsement of the Board itself; which usually sat rather as a court of inquiry, and of audit, on the subject of accounts, than as a Board of Control; while the Quartermaster, who naturally supposed himself to be clothed with some authority in the matter of expenditures for the care of property, for which he had receipted to the State, and was in bonds, ran his official business along, and across, the lines of the work of all these committees. Bills were contracted by whoever might be appointed for the special business which required expenditure. These bills were sent to the treasurer, or presented directly to the Board at its monthly meeting, for authorization and payment. The Board could do nothing but endorse bills for debts already incurred; and thus endorsed they were sent to the treasurer of the "Guard Association" for payment. Yet all the while the standing rule required that the "Finance Committee" should have the control of all the expenditures, as well as secure the funds to meet the necessities of the Guard. Thus the civil and military administration struggled together, in a persevering harmony, through a howling wilderness of necessary expenses, and military dignity. There were two things which could almost be counted upon, whichever Board or Committee might be called upon to act; to wit.: *any number of waiting creditors, and an overdrawn*

*treasury.* The debts were never incurred by those who were expected to see them paid; nor was it generally deemed necessary to have a limit defined to expenditure, in any wise specially determined by the amount that might be in the treasury of the Association.

For three years, and more, these organizations, the "Board of Officers of the City Guard" and the "Board of Directors of the City Guard Association," attempted this co-operative financial policy; the one struggling to run military finances on a civil basis, and the other, with equal fidelity, endeavoring to run the civil matters in military grooves; while, at the same time, the Board of Officers had its "Committee on Finance," through whose hands all bills had to be passed before the treasurer was permitted to pay them. To this financial committee, then, with the Chaplain as standing chairman, was assigned the general, and particular, task of mingling this oil and water together. This the Committee usually accomplished by a persevering effort at agitation. It is easy to determine about how long these elements could remain mingled after each shaking of the vessel which contained them.

The burden of running successfully the finances of the Guard was greatly increased by the lack of experience, and by the fact that so much was needed which could not be foreseen. The Companies, as soon as they entered their rooms at the Armory found, that in addition to their monthly assessments for fuel, light, and contingencies of the battalion, they had to furnish, and fit up, these rooms for their own use. A large outlay, in order to make the room suitable for their abiding, had immediately to be made. Then Music had to be provided, to keep up the best spirit of the organization, and to assist the Companies in the entertainments, which came to be a necessity; in order to keep their treasuries from becoming bankrupt. This implied the organization of a "Military Band," which also

carried with it the expenses of a salaried leader, and an indefinite outlay for musical instruments.

As soon, too, as "The Rifle Range" was opened, the expenses of it fell upon the Companies; because the State appropriations could not be hoped for, as sufficiently generous to allow the practice necessary to make qualified marksmen, to say nothing of the capture of prizes. The expenses of the rifle range, with those of the music, were burdens enough for the young men, who were giving their time to the service. But these matters were considered as mere extras, or luxuries, for which all were willing to pay a reasonable price. Then when the Regiment was organized, and it was determined to place it in camp for a week of instruction, new interests appeared which doubled immediately the financial burdens. Each Company must have its Commissary, its Kitchen and Dining Tent, with its full set of dishes, and cooking utensils. Tents for the men could be borrowed from the State; but those for the officers of field, staff and line, with those necessary for Hospital and Commissary's Stores had to be provided at the expense of the Regiment. Thus the outlay for the week's living, which was a little less than fifty cents each day, on the first encampment was more than doubled, by the provisions necessary to be made in order to render the camp life endurable.

Yet all these burdens were bravely and generously borne, by both officers and men, through the first and second year.

But it was more than discouraging, in the midst of such effort and outlay, to be perpetually compelled to face the \$8,500 Bonds, whose interest constantly grew, even while the men slept, as fast as when they were awake and at work. The whole appropriation of the State to meet armory expenses had stood pledged to meet the demands of these bonds, and the interest upon them, whatever that appropriation might be.

For two years after the Strike, the prostration of business



had prevented any hope of being able to obtain sufficient help in the community to remove the debt. The business men of the city had always treated the Guard generously ; and small amounts, to meet contingencies, could be raised at any time.

But for two years these burdens had to be borne by the very men who were the least able to bear them ; and there was along with it all a growing sense of injustice involved. The members of the Guard willingly gave their time, and services, for the public good, but they felt that it was unjust to require them to tax themselves, to meet the inevitable expenses of their own voluntary sacrifices and services.

But, over and above all the burdens of the service, the bondage of these Armory Bonds, pressed with a constancy which the officers, and the responsible business men of the "City Guard Association," could never shake off. Not a torn uniform could be replaced, or a new drum-head be purchased for the Band, without the shadows of these maturing Bonds and their constantly growing interest intruding upon some one's vision. Every crack of the wild rifle, on the range, suggested the question to the Finance Committee whether the Bonds would permit such waste of ammunition—a waste undoubtedly necessary in order to the successful education of marksmen. Necessary improvements in the armory itself, too, were absolutely impossible. Thus it became perfectly evident to the "Guard Association," to the "Board of Officers" and to its "Finance Committee," watching over the interests of both, that, by such bondage, the military organization must soon be reduced to a chronic condition of beggary, and so lose all real foot-hold on the path to military glory.

These burdens accumulated and finally culminated, when a special burden fell upon the "Music Committee." This committee, set to have charge of the organized "Battalion Band," and its expenditures, found an increasing expense for which they had no means provided. Appropriations and solicitations

had all been exhausted, and the committee determined that something should be done to provide a Fund, by which this Band could be uniformed, and sustained, without calling for new monthly taxes from the Regiment.

It was determined, after long consideration, to make a united effort to strike for liberty. The Music Committee proposed to the Board of Officers that a Military Fair should be organized, and an attempt made by one united effort to pay the debts, and place the Band fairly and substantially on its feet. After a full discussion the Officers of the Guard determined to call out all the reserves, male and female, and see if the Bonds could not be captured and the organization set free, and thus the Band be so established that its music should float around the march of the Guard, without the suggestions of taxation and oppression.

Major Boies, and some of his associates from the Regiment visited the Grand Military Fair, which had been conducted by the 7th Regiment, of New York, by which they had built their magnificent armory; and these officers came home fused with the idea that this was the way to liberty in Scranton. "A Military Fair," to which the whole world should have a cordial invitation—in which the rich and poor might meet together on a common platform—a Fair toward which everybody should be encouraged to contribute, and towards the success of which every good citizen should become enlisted—a Fair, indeed, with no capital to start with, except an unquestionable patriotism of large proportions, and a facility of speech for its crystallization and outflow. "A MILITARY FAIR," it should be, in which the Scranton City Guard, wrapped in the mantle of its own merited excellence, should place itself in a position of receptivity, after it had removed the obstructions from the highway, and laid excellent walks across the swamps, leading to the Armory—a fair, in which contributors and purchasers, sowers of seed, and reapers of harvests, men of business seek-

ing outlets on the line of advertisements, and men of ambition, waiting for tangible evidences of virtuous honor at other peoples' expense, should be all mingled together ; and mingled so thoroughly as to lose all historic identity. In a word, it must be a PATRIOTIC FAIR, which, by the enthusiasm enkindled in the Guard itself, a flame should arise with sufficient power to determine and concentrate the currents of patriotic devotion from every quarter ; and so raise the wind, by which the grievous Bonds might be blown away, and the military Band be furnished for its work.

About the 1st of January, 1880, this thought began to take form in the Guard, and among their friends. It at once became the subject of general interest and discussion. In a short time the attempt became a foregone conclusion in the whole Guard. In the Headquarters and Company Rooms, the subject was fully discussed, and from these the boys took the matter to their friends, and it became the theme of conversation, and planning in all the respectable homes of the city. The ladies of the city generally, and speedily, became interested, and gave every encouragement to the project. With their usual practical force, they pushed it forward ; so that, in less than three weeks after the proposition was suggested, the battalion was actually organized, and the Guard's Reserves were brought into the military field, and the Military Fair became a fixed fact, whatever might be its results.

The Board of Officers, acting in agreement with the Association Directors, appointed a general executive or Supervisory Committee ; consisting of twenty-five members of the Guard, chosen without regard to military rank, in general, yet including all the main officers of the Guard. Major E. H. Ripple was appointed Chairman, and Quartermaster James Ruthven Secretary of this Committee. This General Committee fully represented both the Headquarters and the four Companies of the Guard. With it was also associated an advisory

committee, constituted of one private from each company, with Surgeon Dunnell, from Headquarters, as the chairman. This advisory committee was intended to represent, in all exigencies which might arise, the wishes and judgment of the Board of Officers, upon the one side, and those of the four Companies on the other. This general supervisory committee proceeded at one to crystalize the thoughts, and unify the plans, of the Guard for action.

They elected the Hon. Robert H. McKune, "General Manager" of the Fair, and James Ruthven General Treasurer. They also appointed seven Special Committees, to have charge of as many divisions of service, under direction of Headquarters. These committees were as follows: 1. On "Booths," which should determine and appoint the spaces in the armory to each Company and to Headquarters; 2. A committee on "Advertising and Printing," to whom that whole subject was referred; 3. A committee on "Decorations," whose business it was to have charge of the glorification of the Armory, in preparation for the grand fair; 4. a "Ladies' Headquarters Committee," which consisted of twelve ladies, who were the wives of the officers, Field and Staff, commissioned and non-commissioned, who were to have charge and disposition of all goods at the Headquarters Booth. The position of these ladies on the committee was in the order of the rank of their husbands, Mrs. Col. Boies being at the head; 5. a "Committee upon Exhibition," having charge of Syrian, Chinese, and local curiosities, and works of art; making a "Loan Department," with a special sale of Japanese goods. At the head of this committee was placed Mrs. Isaac L. Post, through whose efforts especially the department was established. With her were associated nine other ladies of Scranton, who devoted their services to the effort to make this exhibition worthy of the success which it attained; 6. was a "Refreshment Committee," with Mrs. J. Curtis Platt at its head. This committee of fifty-six

ladies, all resident in the city, and all of them more or less directly connected with the Guard; thirty-two of them were matrons, and twenty-four were maidens. This committee took upon itself the whole work of furnishing daily refreshments for all that should come, at a reasonable price. Their ministration and success were above the highest praise. 7. It was determined to issue a daily paper as long as the fair should be open, both as an advertising sheet and as a campaign paper, to awaken, and direct, the patriotic interest to the special ends towards which all energies should be directed. Messrs. L. M. Horton and W. A. May were appointed to take charge of this paper, which was named the *Cartridge Box*; and a committee of one member from each company, was appointed to act as reporters thereto.

These were all the Committees which were appointed by the general Executive Body. Appeal was then made to the Companies to take up the work in their company associations; and in order to secure a healthful and honorable competition, a money prize of \$50 was offered to the Company which should turn into the treasury of the Guard Association, the largest amount of net proceeds when the Fair should be over. The four companies immediately took up the work with great enthusiasm. Each of them appointed an "Executive Committee," an "Honorary Committee," and a "Ladies' Executive Committee," and decorated all the members of each of these committees with the colors of the company they served.

These Committees were constituted as follows. The first was composed of enlisted members of the company—soldiers of the rank file and line; the second of men who had been elected and recognized as "honorary members" of the same; and the third as "Honorary Lady members" of these companies.

Thus the work was organized, and the arrangements completed for directing the whole Guard and concentrating all



the Reserves, in the struggle to break the bondage of the "Armory Bonds" and set the Battalion free.

But it was necessary to secure supplies for a military fair, as well as to dispose of them. Hence this whole force was first started upon the special work of gathering supplies, and of enlisting workers throughout the valley. The highest wisdom of this movement was manifested in the early enlistment of the ladies in the enterprise. The history of this country demonstrates that the mothers, wives, sisters, and sweethearts are the real keepers of the true patriotism of a free people. Virtuous manhood is never more clearly manifested in sacrifices for the public good than when it yields to the motherly and wifely persuasions, which spring from the unselfish nature of woman. The power of any community in public enterprise will always be brought out when the women take hold of it with their patient determination and persevering hopefulness.

The wisdom of the City Guard reached its highest development when it concluded to put the whole matter of this military fair into the hands of the women; and required all members, and committees to follow their lead, and obey their orders; all of which were given, of course, from behind the throne.

As soon as the forces had been thus organized for work, the whole body was directed toward the enlistment of more workers, and to the solicitation of contributions. The success attained in both these departments was marvelous. In less than a week after the beginning of the effort, the success of the Armory Fair became visible to the most short-sighted and skeptical.

Two hundred and thirty-four of the best ladies of Scranton suffered themselves to be enrolled as "Patronesses of the Fair," and pledged their services towards its success.

Within a few days these Patronesses in the city, who might have been supposed to have been moved by local considera-



tions, or to be pulled to the front by the cords that bound them to the boys in uniform, whom they had themselves trained for the country, were joined by almost as many more ladies, whose personal and local attachments gave no such leading. There were fifty-two of these ladies resident in Carbondale, thirty-seven in Wilkesbarre, thirty-eight in Honesdale, thirteen in Kingston, sixteen in Pittston, twelve in Dunmore, and fourteen in Montrose, with smaller numbers in all the small villages and in the country towns of the vicinage. In all, four hundred and fifty-six of the excellent and influential women, in and out of the city, suffered their names to be published as Patronesses of the military fair. The battalion never knew a prouder, or happier day than when the boys discovered that there was such a host of accomplished, patriotic and sincere friends in this Grand Reserve!

Thus, with the organization completed, and this magnificent Reserve secured, was the work of planning completed, and that of solicitation and action began.

Appeals now swept out along the lines of trade and business. They went all wrapped up in the bands of manly friendship, and womanly affection. They were sent along the broad highways of generosity and benevolence, which are the real glory of American trade and American society. They were hoisted upon the pure breezes of patriotism and allowed to fall anywhere and everywhere, upon the conviction that they would not fall amiss among the people who count no price too great for the security of American institutions of law and order. They were sent, tied with the cords of private friendship, and blood relationship, to rich and poor alike. These appeals were almost entirely personal, and private. It was the multitude, the perseverance, and patriotic earnestness, which spread them so wide and made them so potent. They were successful beyond the highest anticipations. Contributions to the Fair poured in by every mail; and by all freight

and express lines. Business firms and corporations, merchants and grocers, machinists, manufacturers and mechanics of all kinds, responded to the appeals of the Guard, and of their Patronesses, with a promptness and generosity entirely unexpected. Men and women all over the city seemed to spend their time divided between the work of inventing and preparing their individual contributions, and of writing letters to friends, and in combining forces of friendship, and of personal influence, to be brought to bear where help might be hoped for.

A grand Prize was purchased by the Headquarters, and by each of the Companies, and these were set up for competition, in order to give spice and life to the general enterprise. A few goods, secured at margins which gave assurance of profit, were also purchased and placed on sale ; but, aside from these, the Fair was furnished by the generous contributions of all classes of men, women and children. The way to the Armory was crowded with the material expressions of the patriotism and friendly interest of the people in and out of the city. Weeks before the time appointed for the opening of the Fair it became evident that the Armory must be enlarged to at least double its capacity in order to conduct the enterprise to a successful termination.

Besides the contributions of money, an immense amount and variety of merchandise flowed in like the mountain streams in a spring freshet.

The General Committee at once determined to enlarge the space, rather than in any wise check the generosity of the people. To supply the needed room, two wooden Annexes were built; one on the north side of the Armory, which was seventy feet long and sixteen feet wide, with an entrance from the northeast door of the "Drill Room." This Annex was appointed for a refreshment room or dining hall, and was placed under the control of that indefatigable friend of the Guard,

Mrs. J. Curtis Platt, and her magnificent company of fifty-six ladies, who proposed to run a first-class Hotel while the Fair should continue. At the rear of this dining-room, and attached to it, were built a commodious kitchen and pantry. Within these extemporized quarters, in which the most difficult and perplexing work of the enterprise was to be done, was placed a detail of conveniences and decorations, in which the people of the city at once recognized the masterly genius of Mrs. Platt; the pioneer manager of church festivals and public entertainments, throughout the history of the city.

The second Annex was built in front of the Armory, and was 98 feet long and 20 feet wide. Through this Annex was made the entrance to the Armory, and it was divided so as to contain, in addition to the corrals for the live stock contributed, a cloak and parcel room; a gipsy tent; and grocery store; also a Guard Room, and a smoking room for the convenience of gentlemen, and others who sometimes intrude among gentlemen. There was an eight feet Hall running the whole length of this Annex, terminating at the entrance to the main Hall. The whole was decorated like Fairy-land, and filled with an endless variety of the stores of a first-class supply establishment. A third Annex was built by Company D, on the south side of the Armory, with its door opening from this Grand Hall. This building was made to accommodate the overflow of the enterprise of this enterprising company. This room was 28 x 40 feet, and in it was placed a miniature Coal-Breaker, to show to strangers the modes of the special enterprise upon which the industries of the city were mainly established. Connected with it also was an excellent shooting gallery, for the development of the military genius of the boys. This Annex was by Company D, placed in charge of Sergeant Samuel H. Stevens, who conducted it with a suavity of manner and a skill of ingenuity which greatly advanced the treasury of his company.

Thus the preparations for the Military Fair were completed, and the 8th day of April was appointed for the opening. When the day arrived, the whole city would seem to have become interested. The City Guard was called out, and marched as a guard of honor to the distinguished strangers and civil officers, who were invited to participate in the opening ceremonies. All the members of the Battalion were required to remain in uniform during the continuance of the Fair.

The Hon. G. A. Grow, once Speaker of the House of Representatives, in the unavoidable absence of Governor Hoyt, and General Hartranft, was invited to make the opening address. With him were associated, in the procession and on the platform, the Hon. President Judge John Handley; Additional Law Judge, Alfred Hand; Mayor T. V. Powderly; County Commissioners, Barrett, Tierney and Gaige, with Col. Boies and the Field, Staff and Line officers of the Regiment. General Manager McKune introduced Mr. Grow, who, after a short and interesting popular address, declared the Military Fair "opened." The announcement was received with a hearty cheer by the Guard and their friends, who had crowded the Armory; and immediately the work of selling began. The decorations of the whole building were faultless, and were simply the expression of the taste of the hundreds of ladies of the city, who had been enlisted by the different companies, and had entered into a generous competition to make the fair a "thing of beauty" as well as a success.

It would be vain to attempt, either to record the beauty and excellence of the display, or give an estimate of the real value and variety of the goods which had been gathered. "*The Cartridge Box*," in its opening salute, declared that there was here "merchandise from all climes," offered to an appreciative public; that "in the bazaars, graced by the beauty and chivalry of the city as their merchants," the Arctic circle should hobnob with the Tropic of Capricorn, and the gentle

Cod from New Foundland's mist bank, 'in mid-sea sunken,' will be found perfumed by spices of Ceylon and Far Cathay; that "Sheffield razors would be found in bivouac with Yankee sticking plasters; where Sapolio and Soap should 'bury the hatchet' and lather each other." Groceries and dry goods; furniture and bric-a-brac in endless variety; household supplies and outfits for offices, and for the men that filled them, were all offered for a reasonable price by the graceful attendants, with an irresistible persuasion. Artists and artisans had presented pictures, and specimens of their skill; books and book-cases, jewelry and jewels of first water, filled the shelves and graced the counters. Indeed the patrons of the Fair of every taste and necessity could be accommodated. The patriot could purchase, at reasonable price, in the bazaars, anything, from an Alderney calf and a setter dog to an eye-glass and a set of teeth, from a first-class dentist.

Each company had its Booth and its "Prize Booth," and each day had its special prize, for which an appeal was made to the citizens. From this arrangement the different days of the great fair took their names.

Hence there was the "Military Day," when the military companies of neighboring cities came by special invitation, and were entertained at the expense of the Guard; and the day closed with a competition by votes for an officers' outfit. There was "Fireman's Day," and a day for "Railroad Men," a day for "Teachers and Children," and then the "Head-quarters Grand Prize Day," all of which were closed by the special awards which had been appointed.

Generous good humor took possession of all who came within the doors. Competition, marked by the most pleasant consideration, stamped every transaction.

For ten days the whole community seemed to have taken a holiday from the cares of home and business, and to have devoted their energies to the work and enjoyments of the



Fair. The Battalion Band, under leadership of Professor H. E. Cogswell, gave daily concerts, and furnished excellent music for the march of the reserves. The happiest social life marked the whole body of the people who gathered in the evenings, or pressed into the refreshment rooms, where twenty-five ladies were always to be found waiting to serve.

"The Ladies' Executive Committee" worked with indefatigable energy and perseverance, and the grand results told with what wisdom and skill. The Company competition was marked with zeal, kindness, and wise consideration, and the whole enterprise was carried through without a ripple of dissatisfaction, or a complaint of unfairness.

It would, indeed, be a pleasant task for the historian to record the work of these "Ladies' Committees;" and to make special mention of those members of them who placed the Guard under the heaviest obligations. But it would be unjust, as well as ungallant, to select a few out of the hundreds of the matrons and maidens who devoted their services, day and night, to the work. The record of each, and all, has been made upon the heart, as well as in the memory, of the gallant men who constituted the City Guard; and all the companies have placed in their archives "honorable mention" of their services, which no price can reward and no expression of thanks can suitably acknowledge.

Of all the noble Women who came with their immeasurable sun-light to the armory and the Guard in the time of their darkness, and never gave it up until a harvest was gathered threefold greater than was asked for, we can only say: "IT WAS JUST LIKE YOU." Ladies! Chairwomen, Secretaries, Treasurers, members of Committees, general and special, and of Companies A, B, C and D, "Patronesses" and waiters at the booths, at the prize-tables, at the ticket-office and refreshment tables, *all we can say is*: "IT WAS JUST LIKE YOU." You proved yourselves the worthy daughters of American mothers;



and the "Scranton City Guard" could not, ought not to live without you. Your unselfish public spirit and devotion proves, beyond a peradventure, that this city has an interest and treasure worth the sacrifice of its best men to conserve and protect.

On the 17th day of April, 1880, the Fair closed, and the Guard was left to the grateful task of clearing away the rubbish and counting the proceeds. The Companies and Committees made their reports to the General Committee, and Quartermaster Ruthven, who was a genius in his line, sat down to the work of his figures. In a very few days he presented a balance sheet, which gave to the Guard the patent of its liberty from the "Armory Bonds," and placed in the treasury of the association an ample fund for future necessities. The summary of the results of the Fair, as he reported them was this :

Total Receipts of the Armory Fair.....	\$31,134 29
Total Expenses as per Vouchers.....	5,083 46

Balance net proceeds paid into the Treasury of the Scranton City Guard Association.....	\$26,050 73
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The net proceeds paid in by the companies under offer of reward were as follows :

Company A.....	4,529 59
Company B.....	4,458 75
Company C.....	5,204 73
Company D.....	5,553 04

Net proceeds returned by the Headquarters was \$6,304.72.

To Company D was paid the \$50.00 cash premium ; the fairly won prize that was offered to the company that should turn in the greatest amount of net proceeds to the Association Treasurer.

*The Cartridge Box* was indeed ably conducted and accomp-

lished efficiently the end of its appointment. But the people were all too busy to read during the days of its issue, and too short-sighted to realize its future excellence as a historic memento; and hence it proved the only department that did not directly bring a revenue to the Guard. Its cost exceeded its paying subscription, but not its service to the Fair. Such were the announcements which Ruthven's figures made. In them, at once, was found the light and the joy of a cloudless day. It required a month to settle all the accounts under the direction of the general executive committee; and on the 17th of May, 1880, the balance amounting to \$26,050.83, was paid into the treasury of the Association, and on that day the treasurer reported the outstanding bonds as \$4,500. These bonds were ordered to be immediately redeemed, and the trustees having charge of the mortgage were requested to cancel the same that the City Guard Association might be free.

This was done a few days afterwards, and the responsible men who had been carrying the burdens enjoyed an inexpressible relief. The way was at last cleared, and the halo of immense possibilities gathered over the march of the Guard. The benefits of the Fair could by no means be measured by the funds gathered, or the relief from the "bondage of the Bonds." The happy association of the people, and the good feeling generated thereby throughout the whole city, and valley, proved an immense benefit to the whole community. It not only gave a new impetus to the Guard itself, but gave it a place, and an interest, in the hearts of the people which no other means could have secured. The Military Fair not only brought the friends of law and order to the front, and enabled the boys to come face to face with their own supporters; but it multiplied true friends, and wove bands of interest about a multitude of faithful hearts that before had felt no interest in the National Guard. By it, too, the city and valley were shaken together in a week of social life, on the basis of a virtuous benevolence and patriotic virtue.

The benefits of such an experience upon the social and business life of the city can neither be fully traced nor adequately measured. The good feeling overflowed all city limits and filled the neighboring cities and villages of the coal-fields. And before its sweep the petty jealousies and narrow selfishness, ever liable to exist between business and social rivals, was swept away. The people of Wilkes-Barre, of Carbondale and Binghamton met in the Scranton Fair and became generous rivals in the higher virtues of sacrifice for others. The people of Scranton learned to know and appreciate their neighbors as never before; and their social and business horizon was enlarged and cleared of many a cloud, by the Military Fair which set the City Guard on its feet. Thus the sacrifices for war brought to the city the fruits of peace.

## CHAPTER XV.

## THE TRIALS OF PROSPERITY.

Burdens of Success—The Property secured and its control Determined—The Chaplain—The Veteran Organization.

AS soon as the Armory bonds had been cancelled and the rubbish left by the Fair had been cleared away, new questions and complications began to arise among the members and officers of the Guard. These questions sprang legitimately from the grand success for which all had labored. Prosperity as well as adversity brings its trials and responsibilities, and they may be even more perplexing. After two years of struggle and sacrifice, always marching through the tortuous defiles of poverty, the Guard had suddenly reached a plain of wealth that opened a limitless horizon to the eye that had not become adjusted to it. Officers and men alike began to consider their deprivations in the past service in presence of an overflowing treasury; and the necessities of Companies and Committees, and especially of the officers, who had been given the task of training the Guard for service, without any of the conveniences by which the work could be made easy, seemed to multiply as they were considered. The uniforms, after two years wear, seemed hardly respectable enough for the conspicuous positions which had been won for the Guard by sacrifice and service. Indeed, a vast number of very proper suggestions were brought to light by the surplus in the treasury. The consequence was that for some

months the demand for repairs, conveniences, and improvements, poured in upon the Board in a constant stream. It became evident to careful men, that unless the funds could be permanently invested in some way they must soon be exhausted, if not wasted. Various schemes were suggested from different quarters as to the disposition that should be made of the balance. One of these was that it should be divided into five equal parts and distributed to the Headquarters and to the four Companies; thus putting upon each of these the responsibility of its own expenses and maintenance for an indefinite period. The Colonel, feeling the inconvenience and the inadequacy of the drill-room for the movements of the battalion, proposed to purchase an adjoining lot and spend the balance in hand for the enlargement, and furnishing of the Armory. The Directors of the Guard Association, after listening to, and carefully considering all the different suggestions brought to them, determined to call a meeting of the Stockholders on the 24th of June, 1880, and submit the whole case for instruction.

From the beginning of the enterprise there had been a difference of views as to the ultimate ownership and control of the Armory in the Association. One party expressed the conviction that it should be held simply for the use of the military Guard, and under the control of the officers, who might, at any time, be in command of the four companies; and hence that it should be deeded to certain reliable citizens in trust, for the use of the military command entitled "The Scranton City Guard."

Another class as earnestly contended that such a disposition of the property would be unjust to the young men by whose energy and sacrifice the property had been secured, and the Armory freed from debt. They had given their time, pledged all pay received from the State for their services, and then cheerfully submitted to all the assessments necessary

to run the battalion for three years, in order to build this Armory. They had done this upon the assurance that they should own the whole, as soon as it could be redeemed from its bondage of debt. Hence the Association had been organized as a Stock company; whose capital stock should consist of three hundred and sixty shares, at sixty dollars a share, which could only be increased or diminished by consent of stockholders holding at least three-fourths of the stock. This stock had been issued only in certificates of one-fifth of a share to each member of the Guard, at the end of each year's service. The only exception to this rule was the issue of such one-fifth of a share to all who had served nine months on the 14th of August, 1878; these nine months in the beginning being considered equivalent to a year of ordinary service. Thus it was intended that each special certificate should represent one year's faithful service, in the National Guard. Five years' service it had been intended should entitle the soldier to one full share, which carried with it five votes in all acts of the Guard Association. This would necessarily place the stock, and hence the control of the Association, with all its property ultimately, in the hands of the men who were veterans; no longer in the active service.

This plan implied the organization of a "Veteran Association." This had been so clearly the intention that it had been agreed and placed in the Articles of Association; that any Company, or member of the Guard, that refused to allow the proportion of the State annual appropriation to be used by the association to pay for this property, should be permitted to have no share in the stock. This plan early manifested a weakness, in the fact that many who served the first and second year left the Guard and the city, taking their claims with them. The stock was liable to become so greatly scattered, that it would soon become impossible to have a fair representation of stock at any business meeting of the Association.



Along with the many issues which arose upon the redemption of the Bonds, and the covering of the surplus left into the treasury, this question of the ultimate ownership and control of the property again arose. The directors of the Association were divided in their views, as were the officers and men of the Guard. Therefore the Board issued the call for a meeting of the stockholders on the 24th of June; one week after the proceeds of the Military Fair were paid into the treasury. The object of this meeting was stated in the call, and was expressed in the two questions: "FIRST. What arrangements shall be made for the permanent control of the property of the association?" "SECOND. What disposition shall be made of the balance of the Armory Fair fund remaining, after the payment of the indebtedness of the association?"

The Board of Managers at that time consisted of the following members: Edward B. Sturges, Company D, President; Louis A. Watres, Company C. Treasurer; George B. Foster, Company A. Secretary; William Kellow, Company B., and S. C. Logan, Chaplain. In order to secure definite thought, discussion and action, this Board prepared and submitted two plans, in answer to each of these questions. FIRST. AS TO PERMANENT CONTROL; they suggested that the plan of issuing the stock in one-fifth shares be continued until the expiration of five years from the date of the organization of the City Guard, at the end of which time the ownership of the property would be established in the holders of the stock certificates; subject only to the restriction that the property must always be used to maintain the military organization. This plan contemplated, as essential to its ultimate advantage, the formation of a "Veteran Association" which should in due time take the place of the "Scranton City Guard Association," and so lead to its dissolution. This plan originated with and was advocated by the Chaplain.

The second plan suggested was to repay to the four Com-

panies the eight hundred dollars paid by each of them toward the erection of the Armory; to call in and cancel all the Stock, and convey the property to permanent Trustees, who should always hold it as an Armory for the City Guard. This plan, as a matter of course, would require the immediate dissolution of the "Guard Association," and the surrender of its charter. This plan, in its general features, was advocated by the Colonel, and by various officers of the battalion, who were recognized as excellent business men.

The Board also presented two plans for the disposition of the surplus funds, after the debts should be paid. This surplus amounted to about seventeen thousand dollars.

The plans proposed were as follows:

*First:* appropriate five hundred dollars to the "Rifle Association" to meet the expenses of the rifle range.

*Second:* Pay the debts of the "Battalion Band;" then supposed to be about eleven hundred dollars; and purchase for the members of the Band new uniforms, taking from them leases, both for the instruments and clothing, and demanding a percentage of their cash earnings, with which to create a permanent Band Fund.

*Third:* To expend so much as might be necessary for improvements on the Armory; not exceeding fifteen hundred dollars; and defining specifically what these improvements should be.

*Fourth:* Invest the balance, after these outlays, in some safe interest-bearing securities, as a fund to furnish the Companies with a fixed annual income. This was the first plan.

The second plan was:

*First:* To devote seven thousand dollars, or so much as might be needed, for the improvements in the Armory in specific particulars, according to careful estimates.

*Second:* To purchase an additional lot on each side of the armory, at a cost not exceeding five thousand dollars.

*Third:* An appropriation to the Rifle Range and Band; to be paid as in the first plan, and the balance to be expended in furniture, additions to uniforms, and necessary expenses of the Guard. These were the two general plans for investing the surplus.

At this called meeting of the stockholders all these plans were taken up and discussed with kindness and earnestness, after which, by a very large majority, it was determined as follows, to wit:

*First:* To continue the issue of the Stock, under the rule already adopted; and so to continue the Association with a view to the organization of a Veteran Association.

*Second:* To appropriate four hundred dollars to each of the Companies, and to the Headquarters, to meet special expenses.

*Third:* To appropriate five hundred dollars to the Rifle Association; and to pay the debts of the band and drum corps; and to uniform the members in accordance with the plans submitted.

*Fourth:* In regard to Armory improvements, and the investment of remaining funds; the Board of Directors was authorized to act according to its best judgment.

Thus the way of the Directors of the Association was marked out upon the responsibility of the stockholders, and the general financial policy of the Guard was determined.

The Board proceeded at once to carry out the specific action taken. They paid over to the Rifle Association five hundred dollars, which was chiefly applied to meet expenses already incurred. They also placed to the credit of each Company, and to the Headquarters four hundred each, making, in all, two thousand dollars. This was indeed a relief, evidently just and opportune, to every department of the Guard, which gave new courage to both officers and men. The order, however, to pay the debts of the band, without first

determining definitely what the indebtedness really was, caused much perplexity, both to the Finance Committee and to the Board itself. After careful investigation, these debts were found to be almost one-half greater than had been supposed by the excellent committee having the subject of music in charge. It was, however, determined to fulfill every obligation which honor demanded, at any cost. The treasurer was therefore ordered to honor the bills as fast as they should be presented, properly endorsed. This was done until two thousand and eighty-seven dollars and twelve cents were expended on behalf of the sweet strains, to which the battalion had kept step for a year and a half. The arrangements upon which this excellent Band, under Prof. Cogswell, were now placed was supposed to be such, that the Guard would be relieved from any further expense. It was also supposed, by sanguine individuals, that in due time the per cent. of its earnings, which were to be returned to the Guard, might repay a part of the cost of its outfit. This, however, was found to be a mistake. After two years of faithful effort the Board of Officers sold to the leader the whole outfit for the sum of five hundred dollars; and then had the historic Battalion band mustered out of service. The excellence of this band, and its faithful services, were above criticism; and its relations to the Guard were always pleasant. But the difficulty of keeping it up by musicians who served without pay; and the fact that the Regiment was not allowed to have it at the annual encampment, where only one band to a brigade was permitted, made it a luxury too expensive for the finances of the City Guard. Hence it melted away like its own sweet strains, leaving the most pleasant recollections of its music interwoven with the history of the early struggles of the battalion.

The effects of a full treasury, after such struggles along the narrow ways of economy, upon the Guard, could not be neutralized at once by any plans or resolutions. They soon

began to be felt all along the line. The demands for improvement in the building, and for the multiplication of expenditures on conveniences for the soldiers; for new uniforms, and for music and musical instruments, continued to pour in like a flood. The instructions of the stockholders to the managers, which were promptly carried out, only seemed to open wider the gates of expenditure and demand. The doors of discretion, opened by the stockholders, were crowded with men who saw great results from small outlays of money, and small bills multiplied. The Finance Committee stood bewildered, and grumbled out all necessary protests. The Board of Officers spent whole evenings sitting in judgment upon an apparently endless procession of bills and accounts. Fears were soon created, that between plumbers, musicians, clothiers and furniture dealers, the association was in danger of a second bankruptcy. It was evident that the Guard would soon find itself without an income to meet the unavoidable and proper expenses.

The Directors of the association, in the midst of this anxiety, reached a conclusion; and determined immediately to act. The Armory had indeed been found to be not sufficiently large for the convenient uses of the Guard, and it was supposed the time might soon come when a whole regiment could be enlisted in the city. If so, an Armory double the size of the present would be a necessity, and could be easily built. Real estate was on the rise, and was selling rapidly in the city. It was evident that soon the lots adjoining the armory would pass out of the market. It was therefore determined to purchase two lots, adjoining the Armory lots on the south; as the extension of the Armory to double its present size could then be made at the smallest cost. But it was found that two lots on the same side of the Armory could not be secured. Hence it was determined to purchase one on each side, and place upon these tenements for rent, until such time

as the building of a new Armory might be demanded. It was believed that the rental of these tenements, with the amounts appropriated by the State, would meet completely the necessary expenses for maintaining the military organization.

On the 23rd of February, 1881, these lots were purchased at a cost of five thousand dollars, which was one-fourth of advance upon the price of two years previous on these same lots. Immediately following this purchase the association ordered the building of a double house upon the front of each of these lots, and one upon the rear of one of them, after plans secured from Architect Amsden. These houses were built during the summer of 1881 under the superintendence of Captain Henry A. Coursen. These houses cost, when built about the close of the year, twenty-six hundred and thirty-eight dollars and eighty cents. Thus the investment was made by the directors of the City Guard Association of seventy-six hundred and thirty-eight dollars and eighty cents. The houses were occupied under leases at a paying rent as soon as built, and thus far have not failed to bring a fair revenue for the support of the City Guard.

The haste with which the Armory was built and the want of capital had given rise to many defects in the structure, which cost the association dearly when the time for remedying them came. A small cellar had been excavated, and the timbers and floor were laid close to the ground, where there was great moisture held in the clay, and as a consequence these timbers soon gave evidence of decay. The floor was hastily and roughly laid, under the conviction that the tramp of the battalion would soon smooth it sufficiently; but, after two years of use, it began to show weakness under the tread of the drilling companies. It was evident that something must be done for the repair and preservation of the armory itself.

In the fall of 1882 an offer was made to the Directors for the lease of the drill-room, to be used as a skating-rink by a



company at this time seeking to fuse the society of the city with this ephemeral craze. As such use might be made of the Armory without interfering with the drill of the Guard, it was leased, under proper restrictions; and from the income from this rental an excellent hard-wood floor was placed on top of the one which was already in use, at a cost of five hundred dollars. But when the spring opened in 1883, it was discovered that the repair of the timbers under this double floor could no longer be postponed with safety. In the month of May a nine-foot cellar was excavated under the whole building; strong pillars were built to support new timbers, which were substituted throughout, and the floor lifted up and levelled. All this was done at a cost of \$2,676.87. This work of excavation and repair was done under the superintendence of Herman Osthaus, a member of Company A, who at that time was the secretary and treasurer of the Board of Directors of the Guard Association.

Thus, in six years after the muster and equipment of the City Guard, the organization possessed a property, free of incumbrance, which, without including the various minor improvements and repairs, had cost twenty-two thousand, eight hundred and fifteen dollars and sixty-seven cents. The lots upon which the buildings stand are now valued above this cost; and they are so situated in the city that it is hardly probable their price will ever fall below their present value in the market. The prospect is that they will be worth perhaps double that amount within the next ten years.

The success of the movement to place the Guard upon an assured and permanent footing was due, first of all, to the patriotic and self-sacrificing devotion of the young men—the officers and soldiers of the battalion itself. They gave their services and their money, with an equal cheerfulness, and with a spirit of sacrifice which continued without abatement or weakening. For full five years they had borne the burden

with a unity of purpose which assured success. The roll of the Guard was a roll of honor. Throughout the time of the service necessary to complete this work, by which the City Guard was established, its character and its historic position in the young city were determined. With these excellent young men, in the uniform and service of the State, must ever be associated all the best people of the city, of every calling and social position, who gave their time and money without stint to sustain the four military companies, and who, almost without exception, sustained the officers in their efforts to develop the efficiency, and establish the character, of the Guard and lead it to the front in the service of the State.

It may not be deemed unjust or inappropriate by the reader, who, twenty years from now, may be interested in the local history of the times considered, to close this chapter upon the origin and history of the Armory—that landmark in the city's defense—with the record of the military order which was published by the Commander of the Guard, granting a six months' leave of absence to the Chaplain, who, on account of impaired health, was about leaving for six months' travel in the far East. This order was as follows:

HEADQUARTERS 13TH REGIMENT, 3D BRIGADE, N. G. P.,  
SCRANTON, PA., December 23, 1878.

*General Order No. 10.*

I. The Companies of the Scranton City Guard and all the officers and men of the 13th Regiment in this City, will assemble in uniform, without Arms, at the Armory, at 2.45, P.M., on Sunday, December 29th, for divine worship, which will be held at 3 o'clock. The Chaplain, Rev. Dr. Logan, will preach a sermon to the command in anticipation of his immediate departure for Europe.

II. Major Ripple is charged with the care of the music for this service.

III. Chaplain S. C. Logan, D.D., has leave of absence for six months from January 15th, 1879, for the purpose of visiting foreign lands, for the benefit of his health.

The Commanding Officer avails himself of this opportunity to recognize, publicly, his sense of the faithful and zealous labors of Dr. Logan

for this command, not only in spiritual, but in temporal matters. To him, very greatly, we are indebted for our Armory and all its contents; and his wise counsels have contributed largely to the success and reputation of the Guard.

While we remember his past services with gratitude, we shall hope for his return to us, strengthened and renewed in mind and body.

By order of

COLONEL H. M. BOIES,  
Commanding.

R. MACMILLAN,  
1st Lieut. and Adjutant.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## THE MARCH OF THE "SCRANTON CITY GUARD."

The Companies and the "Honorable Mention"—Association in and Influence upon the National Guard of Pennsylvania—The Thirteenth Regiment—Rifle Practice and Camp Drill—"Honor to whom honor."

AS soon as the Armory was ready for use, the City Guard took possession of it; and both officers and men felt that the battalion was fairly on its feet. The companies vied with each other in furnishing their company rooms with military taste, and in providing them with every convenience for their work. The headquarters were tastefully and conveniently fitted up, and became inviting to the officers upon whom fell the task of training the citizen soldiery. The military enthusiasm, which the novelty of the service and the emphatic call to patriotic duty, in the presence of visible dangers, had enkindled had to be kept alive. To do this it must be harnessed and educated to the higher aims of a military training. It was the determination of the commanding officer, emphatically and clearly announced, that the strictest discipline and drill should be maintained from the beginning; and in this determination he was faithfully sustained by a majority of the officers, and the great body of the men. Each company had its appointment for drill one evening in the week, when the drill-room and armory were placed under the command of the officer having charge of the drill. All visitors, whether members of the Guard or not, were required to ob-

serve military order, and etiquette, when about the Armory. The companies met at the close of their drills in their company rooms, and transacted their company business; devising ways by which their organization might accomplish its work and meet its responsibilities in the Guard.

One night of each week, all commissioned officers were required to meet at Headquarters; when the Major put them through "the school of the soldier;" and speedily the results of the training became manifest both in officers and men. The work was done with cheerfulness as well as success. But very soon the burdens of the organization began to be felt. The perpetual routine of company and battalion movements must necessarily become irksome to the young men, who were perpetually driven by their business callings. The sacrifice of time and labor demanded of officers to carry on the business of the organization, and the efforts to keep alive the military spirit of the Guard became very heavy.

Tact and care were used by the commanding officer in varying the drills, in encouraging entertainments of different kinds, throughout the winter, and in calling out the whole battalion for exercise, in marches and parades; both for the gratification of the command and for the keeping alive of the public interest in the City Guard.

As long as the excitement consequent upon the strike, and the derangement of business continued, a constant guard was on duty in the Armory, to protect the property and secure peace in the community. The Guard, in a few months' drill, reached a high degree of promptness and efficiency. The great body, both of officers and men, understood the duties of the soldier and performed them with military spirit. The April inspection gave the battalion a first-class position among the troops of the National Guard of the State.

The confidence of the commander in the readiness of the whole command for any emergency which might arise, taken

with the repeated assertions of the harmlessness of such soldiers as these, on the part of politicians, who professed to be the special friends, and protectors, of the workingmen; and the expressions of those who seemed to delight in disturbing the peace of the community, led him to test the promptness of both officers and men by a method entirely original. It subjected him to a great deal of criticism at the time, both from friends and foes. But the healthfulness of his experiment became very manifest, in that it settled forever the question, in the minds of that class of the population who had not yet learned that the day of lawlessness and riot had entirely passed in Scranton, as to what might be expected to follow any attempt to control the industries of the city, or valley, with disorderly strikes, or unlawful intimidations of worthy workmen.

Just at six o'clock on the evening of May 20th, 1878, Major Boies issued an order and placed it in the hands of Adjutant Hitchcock, commanding the whole Guard to report for duty fully equipped at the Armory precisely at nine o'clock. Not a single officer, or man, had received any intimation of what was intended, or of what emergency demanded the assembling of the Guard. At the hour appointed every man of the four companies who could be notified and all officers, field and staff, as well as line, were found in place awaiting orders.

A night of excitement in the city followed. There were rumors of all sorts of lawlessness throughout the community; and that whole class of people, who had for months been complaining about the existence of detectives who were supposed to be shadowing the men bent on deeds of darkness, became most painfully disturbed. Indeed, they became almost frantic in their fears for the strain upon the great industries, and manufacturing interests, of the community by such an unexplained show of military power. But this class in the community were quite subject to such excitement when



the Guard came to the front during these days. Their prophecies however had ceased to do anything more than agitate a large number of sleeves in which the people had formed a habit of laughing!

But the demonstration of the readiness of the young men who had sworn to protect the city and commonwealth, under the law, gave to all good people, as well as to the Major commanding, a confidence in the Guard which has never since been shaken. After ten years have passed, with all the changes of officers and men, there are few who doubt the ability of the commandant to have the whole City Guard ready for duty, in less than half the time, whatever might be the exigency. The Major tendered his congratulations to the battalion for its prompt response, and explained the nature of his experiment greatly to the enjoyment of the Guard, which by this means had established a thorough confidence in itself. No regrets were expressed that the exigency had not called for real soldierly work; although a number of the men grieved, more or less, for the warm suppers they had left untasted after a hard day's work.

About the time of the "Spring Inspection" it occurred to the Major that means outside of the weekly drills, which could not be kept up with the same spirit in the summer months, must be invented to keep the best men in the Guard; and hold the standard of membership at the grade of character at which the companies had started. He was also satisfied that the more familiar the soldier could become with the use of his gun, the more efficient soldier he must be. He therefore brought before the Board of Officers a proposition to establish a Rifle Range; and offer, for skill in marksmanship, prizes provided by the battalion and its friends, the whole to be placed under the direction of a Rifle Association. This proposal was at once acceded to. An association styled "The Noy Aug Rifle Association" was formed, with Hugh M. Hannah as

president. Badges were provided by subscription, which were formed of two silver rifles crossed on a cloth ground, which were offered to each member of the Guard who should qualify, as a rifleman, according to the rules of the American Rifle Association, as published in "Wingate's Practice."

Lieutenant George Sanderson, to whom had been given the command of the squad in charge of the Gatling gun that had been placed by the State authorities in the city, was appointed "Inspector of Rifle Practice," and the Companies purchased the ammunition which they proposed to use. Application was made to the Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, which generously permitted the establishment of a range on their property, in the northeast part of the city; and four metal targets were presented to the Guard by Messrs. W. W. Scranton and W. F. Hallstead. Special prizes were proposed by Major Boies, by Lieutenant Sanderson, by Henry Belin, Jr., and by others; to be shot for by teams from each of the four companies. Five crack-shot badges were provided, to be given to the men making the highest score in each company, and in the field and staff. In this way a new and permanent interest in the use of the rifle was awakened, and the healthful spirit of competition between companies was fostered. A prize was also offered for success in competition drills between the companies. All these prizes, except the marksman's badges, were to be contested for during three years in succession and given upon being three times won.

This movement to secure rifle practice as a part of the training of the National Guardsman awoke a new enthusiasm in the whole battalion. The excellent range, secured so conveniently to the city and fitted up by the battalion, echoed all summer with the crack of the rifles; which ere long were to extend the excellent reputation of the City Guard all over the country. When the season closed and the Inspector presented his report, it was found that fifty-one members of the

battalion had qualified as marksmen and had earned their badges of distinction. There would have been many more qualified marksmen this year but for the strictness of the interpretations which were placed upon the "rules of practice." A public meeting of the battalion and of citizens was called after the Fall Inspection, and, by the request of the Major, Governor Hartranft presented the prizes and the marksmen badges to the winners with interesting military ceremonies and high congratulations. These were the first "marksmen's badges" ever presented to her soldiers by the State of Pennsylvania. They were presented by the Governor in the order of rank, and hence it followed that Major Boies wore the first badge presented to distinguish the marksmen of the Pennsylvania riflemen.

THE FIRST PRIZE for the highest score was awarded to Corporal George B. Hand, of Company D, and the SECOND to Captain E. H. Ripple, of the same company. The trophy offered to the company qualifying the largest number of marksmen was awarded to Company D, and presented by Adjutant-General Latta. The Sanderson prize was won by Company A, and was presented to them by the Chaplain.

These were the first prizes in the State of Pennsylvania, and the whole cost of them was furnished by the Guard and their friends.

Both the Governor and Adjutant-General of the State expressed their high appreciation of the movement to make rifle practice a part of the State's training for its National Guard.

The interest thus awakened in rifle practice became very soon general, and the benefit to the Guard was marked and permanent. From that time the question of marksmanship entered into the schemes of the companies for keeping up their membership; and rifle practice through the summer months took the place of drills and parades. The success of this work quickly brought its fruits in many ways.

In the opening of the summer of 1879; after the City Guard had been united with a number of outside companies, to form the Thirteenth Regiment, by action of the State authority; the commander applied to the Governor for the privilege of sending a team to represent the State militia at the Creedmoor matches, where the State had never been represented. The Guard agreed to pay all the expenses of its own team, and hence the permission was granted. In the September matches of 1879 this team, composed entirely of members of the Thirteenth Regiment, and all, except one, from the four companies of the Scranton City Guard, appeared at Creedmoor, and made a respectable record for the State. They captured the third prize in the inter-state contest; New York and New Jersey, with their veteran teams, only surpassing them.

For years after this, the honor of representing the National Guard of the State, at these national contests with the rifle, was awarded to the team, ten-twelfths of whom were members of the City Guard. Nor did the regiment ever fail to send forward its regimental team for all regimental contests that might take place at Creedmoor. Many prizes were taken, by the Guard at these matches, and in the fall of 1882 the team of the Thirteenth Regiment had the marked distinction of taking every first prize that was offered. That year they carried away the "Army and Navy Journal Cup," the "Hilton Trophy" and the "Soldier of Marathon," with a number of personal and company prizes. For nine years these companies have held their advanced position in this special qualification of the soldier. The Silver Palma, presented by Colonel Boies, to be contested for annually by all the Regiments of the State during a number of years; and to be carried by the Regiment whose team should make the highest score at the annual encampment, has been perched upon the top of the flagstaff of the colors of the Thirteenth through all the years,



THE FIRST RIFLE TEAM OF THE PENNSYLVANIA NATIONAL GUARD IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONTESTS  
AT CREEDMOOR, SEPTEMBER 1879.





until now it owns it. Company A, of the City Guard, has the high distinction which no company of either the National Guard or any company of the regular army has yet reached—that of for seven years, in succession, presenting a full company for inspection, every member of which was a qualified marksman, according to the strictest construction of the National Rifle Association rules. It would seem to be entirely just and according to the fitness of things that in 1887 the Hon. Louis A. Watres, under whose command this company reached its highest distinction, should be made State Inspector of Rifle Practice, with the rank of Colonel. A large number of the members of the Guard wear one more bar upon their marksman's badges than the members of any other regiment in the State.

Thus, throughout its history, the City Guard has held its place at the head of the National Guard of the Commonwealth in the number and excellence of its riflemen. Its first inspector of rifle practice, Lieutenant George Sanderson, in the third year of his service, was promoted to the position of Lieutenant-colonel on the Governor's staff, and made Inspector of Rifle Practice for the State. His successor in the 13th Regiment, George L. Breck, of Company D, after four years' service in the 13th Regiment, with the rank of Captain, as inspector of rifle practice, was placed, with the rank of Major, in the position temporarily of Inspector for the State, during the absence from the country of the occupant, Major Shakespeare, of Philadelphia. In this position, and under his efficient administration, this arm of the service has made a marked advance. The real value of such a training to a citizen soldiery has now ceased to be a question. Familiarity with the power and purpose of the arms must give both courage and coolness, as well as efficiency to the guardsmen; so that, when the exigency arises, the State will not be dependent upon men as liable to misuse as properly to use the force it has placed

in their hands, as a terror only to evil doers, and never as a menace to the liberty and security of a free people.

But the officers and men of the City Guard did not give their whole attention to the attainment of their worthy distinction in the rifle practice. From the day the Armory was ready for use no weather or burden of business was suffered to interfere with the weekly company drills. As frequently as was deemed best, two of the companies were trained in battalion movements, in the armory, and as often as once a month the whole Guard was exercised in out-door movements.

On the 4th of July, 1878, by special invitation, the battalion attended the Centennial of the Wyoming Massacre, and acted as a Guard of Honor to His Excellency R. B. Hayes, the President of the United States. In this march it won the highest commendations from a multitude of the most intelligent citizens, and high public functionaries. The appreciation of their services on this march was expressed by the presentation to them of a stand of colors by the citizens of Wyoming.

On the 14th of August, 1878, the Guard celebrated the anniversary of its muster into service, by an excursion over the Gravity Road to Honesdale, and the enjoyment of the hospitality of that city. Here was initiated the idea of taking the men into camp for the purpose of instruction and practice in the duties of the national Guardsman. Captain Bryson asked and obtained permission to place Company A in a camp under military order for a week. This company went into camp on the Dyberry, near Honesdale, on the evening of August 14th, and broke camp on the 19th. During this encampment Captain Bryson put his company through a rigid discipline, in drill and in the whole routine of camp duty, which was greatly enjoyed by both officers and men. In his report Captain Bryson states that through the whole time "there was not a single act of insubordination or breach of discipline."

The captain closes his report with the expression of his conviction that "a single week of camp life, under strict military discipline, will do more to promote efficiency in the National Guard than months of armory drills." The results of this experience were very manifest in the company itself. Company A at once came to the front as a drilled company, and throughout the history of the Guard it has maintained its reputation as that of one of the best drilled companies in the nation. But of the advancement and distinction of the companies mention will be made hereafter.

The experiences of the summer of 1877 had turned the attention of the great body of good citizens, in the Commonwealth, to the character of its National Guard. The exigencies created by the great strike, and by the lawless spirit following in its wake, which swept over all the cities revealed most painfully the dependence of the State authorities upon a soldiery, for which the State had made the smallest sacrifices, and upon which the smallest attention had been bestowed. The organization of the National Guard was bunglesome and inefficient. By its very organization it would seem never to have been intended for service. There were many efficient regiments, formed of good material; and a few excellent independent organizations, which had been kept alive by the force of their own history, and at their own expense; which were entirely worthy of all confidence; such as the 1st Regiment of Philadelphia, the State Fencibles, the City Troop and some other organizations. But, in general, the National Guard of Pennsylvania, at that date, would remind the serious patriot of the description which an irate quartermaster gave of Governor Shelby's army, in 1812. This man had been made an extempore "master of transportation," and had been called before a court-martial upon complaint of a captain, for refusing to allow wearied men to ride on his transportation wagons, when he had been ordered to do so by the said captain. When asked for his defense, this Master of

Transportation plead that he had not yet learned how to adjust himself, or his authority, to an army which was "composed of ten thousand men and eleven thousand officers." When required by the General to explain himself more definitely, he said he would illustrate the case, as he understood it, by the department with which he was most familiar. "Here am I," said he, "Captain, Quartermaster, and, by special order, General of Transportation. Captain Smith is also Captain of company I, also Quartermaster and General of Transportation. Both lieutenants of his company hold likewise all these offices. His four sergeants and eight corporals equally hold these offices when the Captain sends them with orders to me. So it runs throughout the army, or at least through all of it that has come in the way of transportation." Shelby solemnly dismissed him to his wagons.

There had been no legislation changing the organization of the militia of the State of Pennsylvania, on a peace basis, since the Act of 1858. Hence at the time when the condition of affairs demanded that the whole Guard should take the field, in 1877, the organization was about as cumbersome and difficult to make efficient as Shelby's army was said to be by his extempore master of transportation. There were twenty-one Divisions in the State, each commanded by a Major-General, who was also surrounded by a numerous and handsome Staff. These twenty-one Divisions were subdivided into seventy Brigades, which was a Brigade to each county, while the City of Philadelphia was allowed three. Each of these seventy Brigades was commanded by a Brigadier-General, who was also allowed a numerous and handsome Staff. The army of the National Guard of the Commonwealth was thus in the hands of twenty-one Major-Generals and seventy Brigadiers, when perhaps no Major-General had more than one trained and reliable Regiment in his division, which the Governor could rely upon to disperse a mob or quell a tumult. Under

this system the military spirit had been fairly put to sleep. The better class of citizens; except in the case of historic regiments, already referred to, and independent battalions; had no thought of going into the ranks, or of attempting to make the military service of the State honorable.

The riots of 1877 called the attention of the whole people to this condition of the National Guard; and in 1878 a new Act was passed which reduced the Divisions to one for the whole State, and the Brigades to five at the most; and leaving it with the General in command to form the Guard in any number of Brigades, under five, at his discretion. Major-general Hartranft, who had just completed his term of service as Governor of Pennsylvania, was appointed to this command, and he organized the National Guard into three brigades. Thus twenty Major-generals and sixty-nine Brigadiers were mustered out of service; and with these vanished a host of useless and dangerous regiments and companies from the Guard of the State.

Thus it was that the army of ten thousand men and eleven thousand officers gave place to a National Guard, which, with sufficient care, could be selected of the best material the State affords; and not sufficiently officered to perplex and break it down.

There were, perhaps, few military organizations in the State that were more potent in awakening this long dormant military spirit, and in bringing the National Guard of Pennsylvania out of the entanglements of this immense organization, than was the "Scranton City Guard." By the character of the young men who composed the companies, by the earnest efficiency of the officers, and by the worthy pride and interest taken by the citizens in the battalion, the military zeal of the City of Scranton spread through all the towns in Northeastern Pennsylvania.

The commanding officer was approached by committees,



and appealed to by letters, from inchoate companies for counsel. Propositions for the consolidation with the City Guard of new companies, made of the best material, in neighboring towns, poured in upon him. Under the consolidation ordered by the Act of 1878, it was soon supposed, by the Major and some of his advisors, that the Scranton City Guard could hardly hope to retain its existence as a separate battalion of four companies. Hence it was suggested that it would be the part of wisdom to anticipate the action of higher authorities and secure such outside companies as would most readily affiliate with the Guard, and thus create a Regiment capable of a first-class reputation. To this end the young men of Honesdale, of Carbondale and of the Providence and Hyde Park wards of Scranton were encouraged to enlist and organize companies; with the expectation of being united with the Scranton City Guard. Thus the military enthusiasm created by the success of the Guard,—which was the first organization in the State that owned its own rifle range, and among the first to own its own Armory, spread and was directed into the best channels.

By the visit of the Guard to Honesdale, and the encampment of Company A in that place, a military spirit was aroused, which within a few months resulted in the enrollment and organization of one of the best companies in the State; with Captain George F. Bentley in command, and Lieutenants D. R. Atkinson and Horace G. Young in the rear. "The Honesdale Guards" were mustered into service, formed of the same class of worthy citizens that had formed the Scranton City Guard. Next to these came a company organized in Carbondale, under Captain John O. Miles; but this company failed to receive the enthusiastic support from the city which was necessary to its highest success. The officers were worthy men, but they labored under great discouragements; yet the company reached a respectable position. About the same time the work of enlistment began in Providence, as the first ward of the city of Scranton, was at that time called.



A company styled the "Providence Rifles" was organized by the efforts of Captain E. W. Pearce, which had in it some excellent material. But this company, for a time, suffered from the fact that so many of the best young men of that part of the city had already enlisted in the companies of the Scranton City Guard. There was also enlisted, about the same time, a company at Pleasant Valley, about seven miles from the city, under command of Captain F. J. Boone, which had in it fifty-five men; but it never drilled sufficiently to take a respectable military position along with the other companies. These companies, with Company G, a fragment of the old National Guard at Susquehanna Depot, under command of Captain James Smith, and the Gatling Gun Squad, under command of Lt. George Sanderson, were, on the 10th of October, 1878, united with the four companies of "the Scranton City Guard" to constitute the 13th Regiment, which was placed in the Third Brigade of the National Guards of Pennsylvania. This was a regiment of eight companies; five of which were composed of the best material, both officers and men, that could be found in any regiment of the citizen soldiery in the whole commonwealth. After the inspection of the Regiment, on the 10th of October, at Scranton, by Majors M. L. Moorhead and E. J. Phillips, members of General J. K. Seigfreid's Staff; an election of officers was ordered at eight o'clock in the evening, at the Armory. The election was conducted by Major Moorhead, and resulted in the choice of Major H. M. Boies for Colonel; Adjutant F. L. Hitchcock, Lieutenant-Colonel; and Captain E. H. Ripple, of Company D, for Major. The results of this election were accepted with general satisfaction, all of the field officers being taken from the Scranton City Guard.

There was much dissatisfaction in the four companies, both among officers and men, created by this consolidation and formation of the Regiment. In the judgment of a large body of

the best men, both in the battalion and among the citizens of the city, it was apprehended that the Regiment, thus composed could not be lifted to the grade and reputation of the Scranton City Guard. It was believed that the life of the Regiment must be sustained at the expense of the Guard; and, instead of an unexceptionable and efficient Battalion, many believed the city would be burdened with a very common Regiment, whose companies could never affiliate sufficiently; or meet in service frequently enough to constitute a well-trained and efficient body of troops. It was especially feared that the first-class young men composing the Scranton City Guard would lose their interest, and leave the service as soon as they could present reasons for being honorably discharged. It was also especially feared that the interest taken by the citizens in the Guard, which had done so much for its life and advancement, would speedily die out; as the battalion of which they were so proud, would, very naturally, be lost in the regiment of which they could only constitute one-half, at the best. Many of the best friends of the City Guard who had not objected, at all, to the ultimate formation of a full Regiment, believed the time had not come; and that the city was not yet large enough to sustain eight companies, composed of such material as had given the four companies their excellent reputation in so short a time. But they believed the time could not be long delayed, if the Guard could be continued in the popular esteem, when, as an institution of the city, as well as a part of the National Guard, four more first-class companies could be mustered in, and so form a Regiment which should take its place along with the historic military organizations of the country.

But this was a case in which discussion seemed to be useless. The opportunity for demonstrating which of the various views might secure the best results to the State, and to the battalion itself, which in so brief an existence had become the pride of the city, was quickly removed by the consolidation

order issued by the State authorities, to take effect on the 10th of October, 1878.

The Major of the Guard being the chief, if not the only earnest advocate of this destiny of the Battalion of four companies, obtained, in the minds of its opponents, the entire credit of the movement, at the expense of his growing popularity, for a time. The question as to whether the Guard was to exist in order to the development of military promotions, and reputation of the officers, was freely discussed among the young men. There were many who could not rid themselves of the idea that such radical changes, in the relations of the military companies of a volunteer militia, ought not to be consummated without some expression from the companies themselves; especially as these companies had been organized by men who had a choice as to the company they proposed to keep, and under special arrangements secured from the Governor at the time. The whole Battalion had been formed, as all the records show, with the special purpose of protecting the city to which it belonged. The paper published by the young men, before they enlisted, had defined their position distinctly, and their relation to the State had, as they understood, been a matter of compromise. Whether the authorities had the power so to compromise, was a question which they had not themselves especially considered.

The great body of men in the ranks, and, perhaps, a majority of the officers, greatly preferred a separate and independent Battalion, like the State Fencibles of Philadelphia, with no higher officer than a Major. The Major without doubt was earnest and sincere in his conviction that the graduation of the Guard into the Regiment would greatly redound to the benefit of the State service and add to the efficiency of the National Guard of the Commonwealth. He thought it would decidedly strengthen the patriotic virtue of a larger

body of good citizens; and bind together the law and order communities of the whole region, over which the membership of the regiment should extend. The Scranton City Guard had been potently used to arouse the military and patriotic spirit in the whole valley and in all the neighboring towns. He therefore felt that this consolidation would be but the gathering of the legitimate harvest of the careful sowing, in which all had been willing partakers; and the experiences of the dangers of 1877 had certainly demonstrated the wisdom, as well as the necessity, of having a reliable National Guard for the whole State of Pennsylvania.

But whatever might be the differences of opinion or judgment, the members of the Guard patriotically adjusted themselves to the order of the higher authority without demonstration of any sort, save a small amount of grumbling. It is doubtful if any after-experience, or actual advancement of the Regiment, ever changed the judgment of the parties that were interested in this measure on either side. The high character of the Guard was manifested in the determination to carry with them to the front rank, in military devotion, all the outside companies that could be induced to go with them; while they affiliated naturally, and socially, with none of these companies so fully as with the most excellent one at Honesdale.

The roster of the Thirteenth Regiment at its organization on the 10th of October, 1878, was as follows:

HENRY M. BOIES, Colonel.

F. L. HITCHCOCK, Lieut.-Col.                      EZRA H. RIPPLE, Major.

1st Lieutenant Robt. Macmillan, Adjutant.

Major N. Y. Leet, Surgeon.

S. C. Logan, D.D., Chaplain.

Captain H. A. Kingsbury, Commissary.

Lieutenant James Ruthven, Quartermaster.

Lieutenant H. N. Dunnell, 1st Asst. Surgeon.

Lieutenant, W. H. Cummings, 2d Asst. Surgeon.

Captain George L. Breck, Inspector of Rifle Practice.

NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Sergeant Major.	Quartermaster Sergeant.
Ed. F. Chamberlin.	Melvin I. Corbett.
Commissary Sergeant.	Principal Musicians.
L. M. Horton.	Chas. R. Smith and W. J. McDonnell.
Color Sergeant.	
James Moir.	

GATLING GUN SQUAD.

*Captain.*  
George Sanderson.  
Austin B. Blair, Sergeant.

"THE SCRANTON CITY GUARD."

COMPANY A.

*Captain.*  
Henry A. Knapp.  
1st Lieut., Edward J. Smith.      2d Lieut., John C. Highriter.

COMPANY B.

*Captain.*  
Daniel Bartholomew.  
1st Lieut., Wm. Kellow.      2d Lieut., Chas. R. Fuller.

COMPANY C.

*Captain.*  
Henry A. Coursen.  
1st Lieut., Louis A. Watres.      2d Lieut. T. Frank Penman.

COMPANY D.

*Captain.*  
James A. Linen.  
1st Lieut., Samuel Hines.      2d Lieut., Edward S. Jackson.

"HONESDALE GUARDS."

COMPANY E.

*Captain.*  
George F. Bentley.  
1st Lieut., D. R. Atkinson.      2d Lieut., Horace G. Young.

"VAN BERGEN GUARDS," (CARBONDALE).

COMPANY F.

*Captain.*  
John O. Miles.  
1st Lieut., Thomas M. Lindsay      2d Lieut., Wm. M. Thomson.

## "TELFORD ZOUAVES" (SUSQUEHANNA).

COMPANY G.

*Captain.*

James Smith.

1st Lieut., S. L. French.

2d Lieut., Hon. Geo. A. Post.

## "PROVIDENCE RIFLES."

COMPANY H.

*Captain.*

E. W. Pearce.

1st Lieut., Frank Courtright.

2d Lieut., R. E. Westlake.

These constituted the Companies in the organization of the Regiment. Upon the first inspection the Company enlisted at Pleasant Valley by Captain F. J. Boone was enrolled with the Regiment. But it failed entirely, and was mustered out within a few weeks afterwards. The "Providence Rifles" took its place, as Company H., a very short time after the organization; and hence is here recorded as in the organization. For ten years this Company, with that of the Honesdale Guards, has maintained a first-class position, and marched steadily on with the four Companies of the "Scranton City Guard." The worthy reputation and true excellence of this Company has been won chiefly under its efficient officers, Captain John B. Fish and Lieutenants Wm. B. Rockwell and Charles S. Weston.

These six Companies composing the Scranton City Guard; the Honesdale Guards; and the Providence Rifles, have chiefly made the reputation of high excellence, which has marked the 13th Regiment in the National Guards of Pennsylvania.

For five years the "Van Bergen Guards," of Carbondale, struggled against great difficulties. The worthy captain, Thos. M. Lindsay, who was a veteran of the war; without sufficient encouragement from the city where the company belonged, or efficient support of company officers, worked hard to make a



first-class company; and in some respects succeeded. In some points his company was superior. As skirmishers, and in the skirmish drill, for two successive years Company F was recognized as the leading company. But it was ultimately mustered out because of a failure to enlist men to fill the places, made vacant by resignations, by dismissions, and by completion of the terms of service. Its place in the Regiment was taken, in 1884, by a company enlisted at Stroudsburg, which to the present time has its history to make.

The Telford Zouaves was an old Company of the National Guard, which had seen some service in the disturbances of 1877, and had efficient officers; but being so far separated from the other companies, it could not be identified with the Regiment in any proper sense. Nor could its officers bring it up to the standard which the life of the new National Guard demanded. At the end of the first year it was mustered out; and a company enlisted and organized, under encouragement from the officers of the Regiment, at Factoryville, was mustered in as Company G. This company has had to contend with great difficulties from the beginning. It has been handicapped by its isolation. Being composed of young farmers and members widely scattered, it has been very difficult to have a sufficient number of drills to keep it fully on the march. But the perseverance of most of the officers and men has been worthy of all praise. The final success of this Company has been chiefly due to one man who has been in it from its organization, and who for the last two years has commanded it as Captain. Captain Ed. C. Smith enlisted as a private with the determination to be "the best soldier of the Company." And as he advanced to one office after another, he carried with him the same determination. His influence has been marked in all this service; and since he has had charge of the Company, its improvement has been manifest to the whole Regiment.

In August of 1885, eight years after the organization of the Thirteenth Regiment, a Company composed entirely of respectable Irishmen, in the First Ward of the City of Scranton, and styling itself "The Parnell Guards," was, under the arrangements of Governor Pattison and his Adjutant, General Guthrie, attached to the Regiment as Company I. It has shown itself to be composed of worthy men, and has intelligent and efficient officers. Its affiliation with the other companies of the Regiment was necessarily imperfect, because of the marked race affiliation, and the possible political shadows under which this Company was thought to have been organized. The question of its success as a military company in the National Guard and of the real strength it may add to the Thirteenth Regiment are yet problems unsolved. But the strict discipline which has been maintained by its officers—first by Captain Wm. Burke and then by its able Captain, Joseph H. Duggan—for the last two years; united with the manly and soldierly bearing of the men, have greatly removed the burden of prejudice which met them when the company was attached to the Thirteenth Regiment. The general judgment now is that Company I will add real strength to the organization. These are all of the Companies which have thus far been connected with the Thirteenth Regiment. The only Companies which have remained in constant service from the organization of the Regiment; and which are therefore entitled to the full honor of making and sustaining its high reputation throughout the National Guard, are the four Companies of the Scranton City Guard and Company E, the Honesdale Guards.

These organizations, while they have constantly changed both officers and men, have kept up their high character and patriotic enthusiasm. They have furnished the Teams for the rifle contests, State and National. By their excellent drill and discipline; by their marching and manual of arms; as well

as by the high character of officers and men, these companies reached a high position among the best military organizations of the country; and have done much to make the service itself worthy and respectable. Next to these five companies has ever marched Company H, the "Providence Rifles." With many difficulties to contend with in the beginning and for the first two years,—while Captain Pearce was its leader, who found discouragements abundant; yet under the command of Captain John B. Fish, who commanded a Pennsylvania Battery during the whole Rebellion, aided by his worthy lieutenants, William B. Rockwell and Charles S. Weston, this Company took a new departure. It soon proved itself worthy of the high place it has ever since held in the Regiment. It has built its own armory and done its portion of duty both in field and camp. The highest compliment that can be paid this Company is to record the fact, that in the estimation of those who have most intimately associated with its men and officers, it is worthy to constitute a part of the "Scranton City Guard."

It would be impossible to do full justice to the four companies which constitute the Scranton City Guard, without recording minutely the history of each company throughout the ten years of faithful service which they have already rendered. This, of course, would require a prolixity of detail with which it is neither wise nor profitable to burden this history. The military critic would doubtless find in the organic life and service of each of these companies much both to make and to mar. Possibly such critic could select, with little difficulty, the Company which manifests the highest excellence and is worthy of the highest reputation, all things considered. But the citizens of Scranton, while they have always formed themselves into four divisions, with more or less distinctness, as they have looked upon the march of the Regiment, have nevertheless looked upon the whole as the march of their own noble boys, who constitute the City Guard.

Each company has its own worthy record, and in the eyes of its friends; its marks of striking superiority. The officers have changed constantly in all the companies. Company C, alone, was commanded by the same captain during the full term of five years; and in this company he was the only officer who remained in his place throughout that term. Captain Henry A. Coursen, a veteran of the war, is the only officer of the line who served the full term of his commission without change of position, in the first five years of the service of the Guard. At the close of his five years' service he graduated, very naturally, into the Field, becoming the worthy Major of the Regiment.

Company C took the trophy which was offered for the best drilled company; to be determined by competitive drills in three consecutive years. Companies A and D entered the lists with it, and did excellent work. Company A lost the trophy only by perhaps "a point," or "a point and a half," in the three years' contest, according to the decision of the Judges. It has always been supposed since, that an equal number of equally as intelligent and impartial judges would as readily have given the winning point to the defeated company. So the matter has ever stood. The question still remains undecided in the mind of the spectators and citizens generally, as to whether A or C is the best drilled company in the Guard. Company A has made the widest reputation by entering into the contests with the renowned companies of the nation. They won the second prize in one of the most remarkable of these contests, in the city of Baltimore.

Company C has done the same sort of work to a more limited extent, and has won a more excellent local reputation perhaps, under a strict construction of the tactics. In the bayonet drill and exercise it has certainly surpassed. Both of these companies have—the one under the command of Captain Louis A. Watres, and the other under that of Captain

James Moir—received the highest compliments from some of the best and highest military authorities of the State.

Company C—This company was commanded efficiently for five years by Captain Coursen, aided by very efficient lieutenants, L. A. Watres, T. F. Penman and E. J. Dimmick. When Captain Coursen was promoted, Lieut. Penman was commissioned Captain. He proved himself an efficient and successful officer in all the positions he has held in the National Guard. He commanded the company but one year when he was promoted to a position on the Brigade Staff, with the rank of Major. Captain Penman was succeeded by James Moir, who had come up from the ranks, through most of the non-commissioned offices, to the highest position the company had to give. There has been no more efficient or successful officer in the Guard than Captain Moir. Equally ready as file-closer, color-guard, sergeant, lieutenant or captain, he has always carried about with him such a genial spirit, and manly devotion to duty, that it is not surprising that he now commands one of the best drilled companies in the nation. Without friction, or complaint, he has developed the highest results; and has shown himself capable of commanding a Regiment with about the same efficiency that he had led his Company. The genial Scot is a combination of wisdom and wit, which has proved of great value to the City Guard.

Company A received its first impress from Captain Andrew Bryson, who commanded it during the first year. He was the best qualified captain in the whole Guard, in his time of service, both by natural endowments for the service and by the experience of a military education. In the judgment of many, Captain Bryson has never been surpassed in the Guard as a drill officer; and his discipline gave stamp to the Company as a leading feature of the Regiment. He was succeeded by Capt. Henry A. Knapp, who was imbued with the same spirit, and quickly gained a power of command equal to that of his pre-



decessor. He carried the company forward with a striking success, and was very popular ; but being without taste for the position of Captain, and oppressed with the details of the service in that position, he resigned his commission and went into the ranks ; where he continued as a faithful private until 1885, when he was promoted to the rank of Major, and made Judge Advocate on the Brigade Staff. Louis A. Watres, First Lieutenant of Company C, was elected to fill Captain Knapp's place ; and under his efficient command the Company has reached the position, when, in the judgment of those best acquainted with military affairs, it is said to be second to no company of the National Guard, in any of the States.

Captain Watres very quickly developed the highest qualifications of a company commander, and bound his company to himself in the strongest bands. This Company also stands fully abreast with Company D in the number of its triumphs and trophies, won on the rifle range. It has furnished its full proportion of men for the Rifle Teams for the "International Contests." It stands alone in the whole country in the fact, that, with a full Company, every member of it has been a qualified marksman at seven annual inspections. In January, 1887, Capt. Watres resigned, and was made State "Inspector of rifle practice," with rank as Colonel ; and Lieut. Charles C. Mattes was elected Captain. Both the character and services of Captain Mattes give assurance that Company A. will still hold its place of honor and efficiency.

Company D, formed originally of the best material the city could afford, to give force and stability, as well as high character, to the Guard ; moved steadily forward from the time of its organization. It furnished a large number of men to fill the offices of the Field and Staff ; both for the Regiment and the Brigade. It never reached a very high degree of perfection in "Company movement," or of proficiency in the manual of arms. Indeed it never deemed it of importance to try. It



never fell below the position of respectability in any of the duties of the service. In the use of the rifle this Company has, from the first year, contested with Company A the honor of standing at the head of all the companies of the State. No year has passed without its carrying off some trophy from the rifle range, although in all the years Company A has given it but a small margin for any of its victories. In the number and character of the prizes won, and the grade of marksmanship displayed, these two companies may be recorded as fairly equal.

Company D was efficiently commanded by Captain Ripple until he was elected Major of the Regiment, when he was succeeded by Lieutenant James A. Linen. Captain Linen proved an equally efficient commander, but after a year's service the burdens of his business and the details of his work as Captain of the Company grew too burdensome to be endured. Like Captain Knapp, he resigned the captaincy and went into the ranks, where he served out his full term of enlistment. Captain Linen was succeeded by Lieutenant Samuel Hines, who commanded the company with the same steadiness and efficiency. His reputation as a genial and efficient officer was soon established in the whole Brigade. As a worthy gentleman and faithful soldier, no officer of the line ever stood higher in the community or in the Regiment than Captain Hines. He served out his term of enlistment, and was succeeded in the command of the company by Lieutenant George B. Thompson; of whom it is enough to say that, from the first year he has held position on all the "rifle teams," Regimental and State, in the International Matches; and that in September of 1886 he made, in an individual match at Creedmoor, the only complete score on record; score of 50 out of a possible 50. The Company under command of Captain Thompson has kept the reputation gained under his predecessors, and moved on steadily enjoying the confidence of the whole Brigade. In January,

1887, Captain Thompson resigned, after fully nine years' service in the Guard, and Wm. A. May, a former lieutenant of Company D, was chosen Captain. From his well-known ability and enterprise the friends of Company D augur a decided advance in both the work and reputation of the Company under his command.

Company B was originally constituted of as excellent material as any company of the Guard, and it developed many characteristics and excellencies of a first-class military organization in the service. It furnished its proportion of marksmen for the Regimental and State Teams for the international matches; and, through a course of years, presented the fullest company for encampment, and inspection. Yet it is apparent that the Company has hardly fulfilled, to the entire satisfaction of its friends, the excellent promise of its early efforts. It has always maintained a respectable military standing; but the conviction of the officers of the Regiment, as well as of a large number of its own best members, has been uniform, that its material made it capable of a much more advanced position than it has yet occupied in the National Guard.

Its failure to stand abreast of the best companies of the State, and Nation, has generally been thought to be traceable to a neglect of that strictness and minuteness of discipline which too many have deemed both unnecessary and irksome. The very things which had so much to do in developing the other companies were neglected, or suffered to be passed over as mere forms, which have little to do with the efficient duties of the soldier. But perhaps the position and military reputation of Company B are due to the superiority of the companies with which it has been associated; and to the very marked advancement they have made, rather than to any specific defects in itself. An eclipse may be as effective as lack of light in the body itself.

The first commander of this company was Captain Merriam,

under whom it was organized. He had served as an efficient staff officer during the great rebellion; but being without experience as an Infantry Captain, he did not remain long enough with the Guard to catch the spirit of discipline and devotion, necessary to impress and give high character to his command. He was succeeded by Lieut. Daniel Bartholomew, who had served as a cavalryman through the four years rebellion. Captain Bartholomew was a good soldier, and a faithful officer, but he found it a weary work to infuse his command with the high purpose that controlled himself. After four years of service, and of respectable command, he resigned his commission, respected by all his associates, as a worthy gentleman. He was succeeded by Lieut. Wm. Kellow, who was also a veteran of the war. Captain Kellow served five years, the full term of his commission, and succeeded in keeping the company at about the same respectable grade of discipline and drill in which it was left by his predecessor. Both Captains Kellow and Bartholomew were, during the whole time of their command, burdened with business trusts, which necessarily limited the time and perplexed the services they were able to give to the Guard.

This Company has been favored by having, in long terms of service, Lieuts. H. R. Madison, who was in the "firing squad" of August 1, 1877, Wm. S. Millar and T. J. Williams, all of whom have been devoted to the best interest of the Company; and have proved themselves efficient and devoted officers in the service of the State. The Company, at the present writing, is in a transition, which gives promise of a new advance, and the prophecy that there will be an early march to the front, on the part of Company B, is becoming distinct all along the line.

While each of these four Companies has its own characteristics and is worthy history; it is when they have marched together and formed the Battalion that their highest excellence

has appeared. These generous competitions between them have only lifted them all into more conspicuous efficiency; and it is when the men touch elbow on the march, and the cadence of their step awakes the attention of the city, that the full estimate of their character and service is appreciated. Then it is, that the city, whatever the suspicion of danger may be in the air, knows, and is satisfied with its defense ; for these are The City's Defenders.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## THE THIRTEENTH REGIMENT N. G. P.

"School of the soldier"—The March—The Camp—Evolution and Revolutions—  
Inspections and Expectations—Tracks of the City Guard in the State.

THE Thirteenth Regiment N. G. P. was organized on the 10th of October, 1878, as has been recorded; and Major Henry M. Boies, by unanimous choice, was commissioned its Colonel in Command. Upon taking command, the Colonel announced his determination, with emphatic earnestness, to enforce the strictest discipline. He made this enforcement the condition of his continuance in the position; which he said he had accepted only from a sense of patriotic duty. With this announcement he connected the promise, that, with the continued and hearty co-operation of the officers and men, he would lead the Thirteenth Regiment to the very front of the National Guard; and make it, if not the best, at least to stand among the best of the Regiments of the citizen soldiery in the Nation.

In accordance with this laudable aim, he immediately set to work all the forces within his command. While he worked directly to secure the unification, and efficient training, of the Thirteenth Regiment; he looked over the whole field of the National Guard, and discovered many hindrances to the training of a militia worthy of the State and Nation. In order to the proper drilling and unification of his own Regiment he printed a Manual, which he entitled "A Course of Twelve Lessons for the Instruction of the Officers of the Thirteenth

Regiment." He appointed one evening of every month for a "school of the soldier." At this school he required the presence of all the officers of both the staff and line. This Manual was intensely practical; and proved of great value to all the officers who were desirous of making themselves worthy of the positions they held.

These schools of the soldier were conducted with a variety of exercises, with a wise reference, both to perpetuating interest in the subject, and to bringing out all the latent power of the officers. Presiding himself, the Colonel appointed, from time to time, subjects to be discussed by the different officers of the Field, Staff and Line. Thus; to the Lieutenant-Colonel was assigned the subject of "street fighting;" "the column of attack upon barricades and buildings;" "the best modes of protection and defense," etc.; to the Surgeons, "the care of the sick and wounded on the march;" "the hygiene of the camp;" etc.; to the Major; "the arrest and disposition of prisoners;" and the presentation of the "best papers on quelling riots;" etc. To the Adjutant was given the entire range of clerical and sedentary duties in the Regiment; to the Chaplain, "the moral relations and responsibilities of officers towards the men;" to the Inspector of rifle practice, the whole field of his duties, while to the "Line Officers," in turn, he assigned, by section, the whole Manual and Tactics as subjects of exposition.

The success of this experiment was quickly demonstrated in the efficiency of the men in command; and in the general interest created in the regiment. "*The National Guardsman*," published in the interest of the National Guard, in Philadelphia, gave an exposition of Colonel Boies's method, and commended it to all the Regimental Commanders of the State. Rapid progress was made in the *morale*, and movement, of the Guard. A studied variety of drills and exercises, on the part of company commanders increased both, the interest and efficiency of all the companies, more or less, but especially in those



of the Scranton and Honesdale Guards. By the energy, and generous sacrifice, of Major Ripple and a Committee associated with him, the Battalion Band, and an efficient drum-corps were organized; to enliven the march and the drill; as well as to grace the public receptions which were at this time necessary to keep active the interest of the citizens in the Guard. The whole work was thus systematized and prosecuted with such persevering energy that, in three months after the organization of the Regiment; when an inspection of the Brigade was held at Scranton, conducted by the Adjutant-General, in the presence of General Hartranft and his staff, the Companies all received the highest commendation.

The uniform selected by the Guard; and which was furnished them by the kindness of their friends, was that of the National Army. Their appearance at this inspection, in this uniform, so impressed the General in command that he expressed the determination to place the whole National Guard in the State in the same uniform. Within two years this was accomplished. Previous to this time each Company had selected its own uniform, and the inspection of Regiments was, in general, a presentation of all the colors of the rainbow, strangely blended, and all the feathers of the barn-yard, strikingly displayed.

During the summer of 1879 the drill and discipline were continued, with special attention to the Rifle Practice. All shooting had to be done in uniform and under orders. A variety of trophies had been provided, both by the citizens and by the Guard itself, and the "outside companies" were encouraged to build armories and set up rifle ranges for themselves. The State authorities were induced to provide Marksmen's Badges to be presented to "qualified marksmen," and to be worn in the service by all who should qualify according to the rules of the National Rifle Association. These badges consisted of a circular medal, or bronze disk, attached

to a bar, by which it was fastened to the coat. On this medal was the monogram "N. G. P." upon one side; and upon the other the coat of arms of the State. For each successive year a bar was attached to the medal, upon which was placed the word "Marksman;" with the year of the qualification. Thus the movement to connect the rifle practice with the training of the soldier, which was inaugurated by the Scranton City Guard at its own expense, was, within two years, accepted by the State, and was soon made universal in the National Guard of Pennsylvania.

The results of the encampment of Company A in August of 1878 demonstrated the use of such encampments; and the wide separation of the companies which composed the Thirteenth Regiment demonstrated their necessity. If any real unity or efficiency was to be secured in the organization, the Regiment must be placed in a camp for drill and instruction, at least once a year, during a week or ten days. These companies had never been together, except at an inspection, and therefore had enjoyed no opportunity of drilling together. The State had made no appropriations to meet the expenses of an encampment; and no provision had been made, in all the years since the war, for the instruction of a citizen soldiery by placing Regiments in encampments.

The Colonel therefore determined, in the summer of 1879, to place the Thirteenth Regiment under canvas at its own expense. In order to do this it was necessary to select a time when the business of the men would be least interfered with; and a place for the encampment which would be sufficiently attractive to induce both officers and men to go into it without pay.

The time selected was August 21st—a date as near as convenient to the anniversary of the organization of the City Guard; and the place for the encampment was the sea-shore at Long Branch, New Jersey. After selecting this point, the

Colonel secured the free transportation of the Regiment through the kindness of the authorities of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western; the New Jersey Central; the Delaware and Hudson; and the Erie Railways. Presidents Sloan, Dickson, Jewett, and Receiver Lathrop, always treated the Thirteenth Regiment with great consideration and generosity. At five o'clock, P.M., August 21st, after a delightful excursion under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Hitchcock, the Regiment went into camp at Long Branch; their tents having been pitched by an advanced guard, under the inspection of the Colonel himself. Each man had provided himself, under orders, with one day's cooked rations, and the Commissary, Captain Kingsbury, provided all other rations from the market in New York. These supplies were regularly issued each day, from the first day in camp, and each company cooked its own rations.

A regular routine of camp duty was instituted the day the encampment began; and was carried out throughout the seven days with military precision. Every department was reduced to order, and military discipline was strictly administered. The drills were conducted as the regular business of the encampment, notwithstanding the bad weather, which prevailed about half the time. Both officers and men greatly enjoyed, and quickly learned, their unaccustomed duties, although the camp contained no suggestion of a holiday. The improvement in all the Companies became manifest in two days' exercise. The attendance at the camp was a little over seventy-five per cent. of the whole membership of the Regiment; and the results of the encampment were reported by the Colonel to the State authorities as entirely beyond his highest anticipations. The total cost of the support of the seven days' encampment, that is, of the rations for the men, was \$932.85; or at the rate of thirty-six and a quarter cents per day for each man. By this experiment the Colonel de-

monstrated the possibility of sustaining the National Guard in a "Camp of Instruction" without oppression to taxpayers; who hitherto had concluded that the maintenance of the militia, on a peace basis, meant the training of a National Guard without farther expense than the traveling expenses of Guard Officers.

The report of the Colonel of this encampment was made the basis of an earnest appeal to the State to establish an Annual Encampment for the whole division of the National Guard; either as a whole, or by Brigades, or by Regiments. The advantages of encampment were so clearly demonstrated that the State authorities took the matter up the succeeding winter; and encampments were ordered, and provided for, the next year. They have now become a part of the annual duty of the Guard of the whole State. The experience and drill of the week's encampment, once a year, have not only given an excellent training to all the Regiments, but have afforded a healthful and grateful recreation both to officers and men.

The order, quiet, and military exercises, of Camp Hoyt, at Long Branch, made a decidedly favorable impression upon the multitude of visitors at that great watering-place. The press, both religious and secular, heralded the excellence of the Thirteenth Regiment, of the National Guards of Pennsylvania, all over the country.

The observance of the Sabbath in camp was especially recognized, to the high credit both of the commander and of the men. The order of the Colonel, which was strictly carried out, is here recorded as worthy of preservation and of imitation by commanders of troops in camp anywhere, under a Christian Government in time of peace. It was as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS THIRTEENTH REGIMENT, CAMP HOYT,

"LONG BRANCH, NEW JERSEY, Aug. 21st, 1879.

"*General Order No. 18.*

"Until otherwise ordered by superior authority, the Sabbath day will be observed by this Regiment, or any part of it, in camp for the purpose





HEADQUARTERS 13TH REGIMENT, N. G. P., CAMP REYNOLDS, WILKES-BARRE, PA., 1881.



of drill and instruction, as a Christian Sabbath of rest, quiet and religious service. Undress guard mounting will replace the dress guard mount; and undress parade the dress parade. The usual Sunday Inspection will be made immediately after recall from morning drill, on Monday. All drill calls will be intermitted. Church Call will sound at 10.30 A.M., when the band, if present with its instruments, and the companies without arms, will fall in, answer roll-call, and be conducted by their officers to the place selected for divine service.

"This departure from the usual Sunday routine in the army is made possible, and proper, by the nature of our service as citizen soldiers. We are National Guardsmen for the protection and defense of American institutions; of which there is none more vitally connected with our history from the landing of the Pilgrims to the present time, or more essential to our national welfare, or dearer to the heart of the patriot, than the American Christian Sabbath. Let it therefore be observed by the Regiment in such a manner as shall best preserve its sacred integrity, in accordance with the command of God, by the cessation of all works except of necessity and mercy.

"By order of

HENRY M. BOIES,

"COLONEL.

"R. MACMILLAN,

"ADJUTANT."

This order was strictly carried out. All drills and the usual Sunday inspection were omitted. At 10.30 the whole Regiment attended divine service conducted by the Chaplain; and in the evening a voluntary religious service was conducted, greatly to the enjoyment of the officers and men; and in the afternoon a Sabbath class was conducted in the tent of the Chaplain. The whole camp was, throughout the Sabbath, as quiet as the best Christian village in the country; and as a consequence the whole moral tone of the Regiment was decidedly elevated.

No intoxicating drinks were allowed in the camp, and sobriety and true manhood marked the conduct of officers and men, almost without exception. It is due to this Regiment to record the fact that, whenever it has been permitted to camp by itself, this order for Sabbath observance has been strictly enforced; and that by common consent, even without military

orders, the visible use of intoxicants has ever been forbidden. The Chaplain has been actively and kindly sustained in his office through ten years of service, and has enjoyed the respect and the kind offices of both officers and men through the whole time. There is no regiment in the service that has maintained a higher or more consistent moral standing; and in this fact the Commonwealth has the assurance of its reliability and true value as a part of its National Guard.

The entirely inadequate provisions made by the State to furnish itself with a Guard of real value, as a military organization, were found to be the greatest hindrance to the rapid and high training of the men. The officers of the Thirteenth Regiment very early discovered that they had a mission outside of their own command, if they would make that command successful. It would seem, that if the Legislature considered it worth while to maintain an organized militia, it ought to make such provision for the comfort, and training, of the officers and men; and provide such pay for their services, as might induce good and worthy men to march in the ranks, as well as to wear the clothes of official position. Having demonstrated by a week's encampment how cheaply the work could be done, the Colonel of the Thirteenth in his report urged upon the higher military authorities the plan of making annual encampments, for instruction. In order to awaken a general interest among the people, and so lead the Legislature to make the necessary appropriations, and enact necessary laws, he entered into correspondence with the best men in the country, both in the State and out of it. The laws were so inadequate, and the interest in the whole subject was so slight, that the arms and equipments provided for the citizen soldiery were in many cases unfit for use. For the Spring Inspection, which was ordered in April, 1879, no appropriation was made to meet the necessary expenses. The orders were issued for the inspection of the Thirteenth Regiment at

Scranton. In order to an obedience to this order, the Colonel was compelled to bring the outside companies to report in the city. He did so; and the Regiment was inspected by the officers sent by the Adjutant-General. As transportation certificates had not been sent to these outside Companies from Harrisburgh, from whence the order was issued for the inspection, the Colonel supposed they had been simply delayed; and to avoid a delay of the inspection, he gave his personal guarantee to the railway companies for the transportation, and sent on the papers, in regular order, after the inspection was over. He explained to the inspecting officers, on the ground, all the difficulties of the case, and told them how he had met them in order to obey the inspection order. He was surprised in the following November to have these papers returned to him as disallowed, and accompanied with the broad inference that he had transcended his authority, and hence would have to pay the transportation in question himself; because the appropriation of the State was not sufficient to transport the four companies ordered to the inspection; of which fact, it was said, "the Colonel of the Thirteenth Regiment must be well aware."

The Colonel, surprised, grieved, and indignant, still held to what would seem his logical conclusion; that if the State had authorized the inspection, and thus had made proper the Brigadier's command, which had ordered it, it must thereby have equally authorized the expenses necessary to the fulfillment of the order. He promptly tendered his resignation. The justice and manliness of his course was at once appreciated both by the Regiment and by their friends in the city. But it was manifest to all interested in the City Guard, that Colonel Boies' resignation at such a juncture, with the Regiment just formed and not yet unified; and the heavy debt upon the armory unprovided for, must be disastrous. Until the organization could be fully established, it was the judgment of all that the commanding officer, who had spent his money

so freely, and given his services so efficiently, could not be spared. The officers of the regiment presented to him at once, upon his announcement of the fact and cause of his resignation, an earnest request, unanimously signed, to recall this resignation. The case was so clear that they felt that the Colonel could afford to pass over the indignity with a mere publication of the state of facts. The Chaplain proceeded to call a meeting of the leading citizens and chief business men, then in the city, to consider the exigency. This meeting investigated the whole case and appointed a committee, consisting of Messrs. H. S. Pierce, William R. Storrs and S. C. Logan, to address a letter to Colonel Boies, expressing their views of the result of such resignation, and urging him to recall it. The letter, in part, was as follows :

"COLONEL H. M. BOIES,

"*Dear Sir*: The undersigned citizens of Scranton having learned that you had felt constrained to resign your command of the Thirteenth Regiment, N. G. P., held a meeting some time since, specially to consider the effect of such resignation upon the interests of the City Guard.

"We are of one mind, that your refusal to longer continue in this position will be disastrous to this organization, and will speedily result in its losing its high character ; thus alienating the confidence of our best people from it.

"We have examined into the facts of the case and are fully persuaded that, upon a guarantee that the bills of the Spring Inspection shall be paid, without in any way touching your honor, or reflecting upon the justice of your course in tendering your resignation, you can honorably withdraw it.

"Such a guarantee we are able to give you, and we, therefore, as your friends and fellow-citizens, highly appreciating your services and the delicacy of your position, do most earnestly request you to withdraw your resignation at once."

This letter was signed by ninety of the prominent citizens of the city, whose names we have recorded, as a memorial of these times in the history of the city itself, and as a just recog-

dition of the men who made the greatest of the sacrifices for the benefit, and establishment, of the Scranton City Guard.

They are as follows :

H. S. PIERCE,	} <i>Citizens' Committee.</i>
W. R. STORRS,	
S. C. LOGAN,	

U. G. Schoonmaker,  
Isaac L. Post,  
W. H. Perkins,  
Thomas Moore,  
J. L. Fordham,  
Joseph Godfrey,  
S. Grant,  
R. A. Squire,  
E. N. Willard,  
R. J. Matthews,  
W. W. Manness,  
Fred. W. Gunster,  
G. W. Fritz,  
J. A. Price,  
N. H. Shafer,  
C. F. Mattes,  
E. P. Kingsbury,  
A. G. Gilmore,  
J. A. Scranton,  
R. T. Black,  
James Blair,  
William Frink,  
H. V. D. Smith,  
Thomas Livey,  
L. S. Fuller,  
M. E. Stowers,  
G. L. Dickson,  
D. N. Green,  
Herbert Russell,  
Garrett Bogart,  
E. B. Sturges,  
Horace B. Phelps,  
John Jermyn,  
Edward C. Lynde,

W. F. Hallstead,  
Charles A. Stevens,  
John U. Reed,  
George H. Catlin,  
F. S. Pauli,  
C. A. Conklin,  
Thomas M. Cann,  
John D. Fuller,  
H. A. Kingsbury,  
A. B. Stevens,  
George Sanderson,  
G. W. Bushnell,  
George A. Jessup,  
George Fisher,  
J. M. Chittenden,  
A. H. Coursen,  
Charles P. Matthews,  
John C. Phelps,  
J. F. Snyder,  
I. J. Post,  
H. A. Vail,  
Corydon H. Welles,  
E. C. Fuller,  
J. R. Davis,  
R. W. Archbald,  
A. H. Vandling,  
W. B. Culver,  
A. M. Decker,  
L. Lindley,  
W. H. Storrs,  
Joseph J. Albright,  
W. H. Richmond,  
W. W. Scranton,  
H. C. Cornell,

J. C. Platt,  
W. T. Smith,  
N. A. Hurlbert,  
H. M. Hannah,  
Austin Moore,  
James Woolsey,  
E. Merrifield,  
Ed. L. Buck,  
E. W. Weston,

R. W. Olmstead,  
Samuel P. Reed,  
Dwight Baker,  
James Merrill,  
Sidney Broadbent,  
William Connell,  
H. Battin,  
James W. Fowler,  
N. Y. Leet, M.D.

C. E. Judson.

These were the signatures of the leading citizens of that day in the city, who had charge of its business, and in great measure gave character to its enterprise, as well as moral type to its history and public institutions. Almost without exception they stand as the illustrious names in the life of the city.

The adjustment secured by these citizens through their committee removed the delicate difficulties, and enabled the Colonel to yield to the judgment of the officers of the Guard, and of the citizens so emphatically expressed. He at once withdrew his resignation, and entered only the more earnestly upon the work, from the earnest endorsement which he had received. He continued his efforts to create a wise, and more general, interest in the National Guard. In his reply to the appeal of the officers of the Regiment and to the citizens of Scranton to recall his resignation, he said, in reference to the general question of having a citizen soldiery: "The more attention I give to this subject the more impressed I am with the grave importance, not only to this community, but to every community in the whole country, and to republican institutions, of an efficient citizen soldiery. This must be composed of honorable and patriotic young men; willing to devote much time to learning and discharging their duties. To keep such men in the service they must be encouraged by the appreciation of their fellow-citizens. They must be able to take pride in their uniform, and enabled to enjoy the honor of wearing it. Until our leg-



islators are educated to a statesmanlike sense of what is required for the proper support of the National Guard, it will largely devolve upon those citizens who do appreciate the service to sustain it."

In this desire to make the excellence of the 13th Regiment a power, for the lifting up of the whole Guard of the State, both officers and men cordially agreed with him; and he never lacked an earnest support from them all, in the schemes which he afterwards devised and attempted to that end.

On the 6th of December, 1879, a statement was published in the newspapers, showing the beggarly provision hitherto made by the State of Pennsylvania to meet the necessary expenses of its Guard; which, to each of the regimental organizations, amounted to five hundred dollars to a Company for uniforms; two hundred for armory rent; and from fifty to one hundred dollars for Headquarters expenses. To all this was added one day's pay, at \$1.50 to each man who passed inspection. This showing was placed in contrast with the provision made by the State of New York. By this publication an excellent impression was made upon the public generally; and the attention of many people was turned to the necessities of the Guard. In May of 1880 Colonel Boies also published an able article in "Harper's Magazine," entitled, "Our National Guard," in which he elaborated in outline a plan by which each congressional district in the United States might have a first-class Regiment; and the whole be jointly sustained by the General and State Governments. Upon this scheme he corresponded with many of the best military men in the country, and among them with General William T. Sherman, who expressed sincere interest in the proposition.

In the same summer an invitation was sent from the officers of the 13th. to all the officers of the Guard in the State of Pennsylvania to meet in convention at Philadelphia, on a designated day; to consider the necessities of the National Guard

and to devise means for its efficiency. A large number of these officers responded favorably, and met at the time appointed. They organized by placing Gen. James A. Beaver in the chair, who called upon Colonel Boies to explain the objects of the Convention. He did so in an able and interesting address, in which he called attention to the legislation which he deemed to be necessary in order to the placing of the National Guard on an efficient footing. He also spoke of the desirability of attempting to secure Congressional aid, and of connecting the National Guard of the different States with the General Government; at least in so far as to have appointed retired officers of the United States Army, to inspect and drill all its regiments in the annual encampments. The Colonel was listened to with great interest, and cheered with warm enthusiasm. This military Convention determined to invite, and send delegates to, a convention of representative officers from the Guard of all the States, to meet in New York City in the following January. It also appointed a committee to examine the military code of Pennsylvania, and to secure, if practicable, such amendments to it as the present conditions of the service would seem to demand. This committee was charged to press upon the Legislature the wisdom and justice of such appropriations as are necessary to secure permanent organization, and efficiency of the National Guard. In this whole movement the officers of the 13th Regiment were the movers; and the Colonel was appointed one of the delegates to the National Convention, which was called to meet in New York City.

Thus, from the very organization of the 13th Regiment, the effort was made to extend its influence and identify it with all intelligent movements to secure the increased value and permanence of the National Guard. At the same time unremitting efforts were continued to make it worthy to be such a leader.

The drill and march, the rifle practice and the annual encampment, with all the sacrifices of time and money, this Reg-





FIELD AND STAFF, 1ST REGIMENT, N.E.R.

Everett Warren  
1ST LIEUT & QUARTERMASTER  
Chas. H. Hebron  
1ST LIEUT & QUARTERMASTER  
Herman Osthous  
1ST LIEUT & QUARTERMASTER

W. H. Boorman  
MAJOR  
F. L. Hitchcock  
COLONEL  
E. H. Ripple  
LIEUT. COLONEL

H. J. Logue  
SURGEON & SURGEON  
C. L. Tracy  
1ST LIEUT & QUARTERMASTER  
H. D. Gardner  
1ST LIEUT & QUARTERMASTER

iment has cheerfully borne. Officers and men have faithfully fulfilled their terms of service; only to give place to their successors, who were imbued with the same patriotic spirit and ready for the same sacrifices for the public good. The Regiment still marches on, holding the honors of the past, and yearly gaining new laurels in the fields of military, and patriotic, duty.

In October, 1883, Colonel Boies completed his term of service, and declined a re-election; upon his announced conviction that the good of the service at large requires that the stream of promotion shall be kept constantly flowing in the National Guard; and that no commanding officer, however efficient or popular, should allow himself to check it.

Lieutenant-Colonel Hitchcock was unanimously chosen to succeed to the command. Major E. H. Ripple was promoted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy; and Captain H. A. Coursen was commissioned Major.

Colonel Hitchcock has proved a worthy successor in the command. Always a gentleman, and with a record for military service, both in the Great Rebellion and in the National Guard, as an able officer as well as a Christian patriot, he has marched the Regiment steadily forward. Constantly sustained by able officers, of the Field, Staff, and Line; and by the old members of the City Guard who continued through a second term of enlistment, the reputation and efficiency of the organization continue to make the Scranton City Guard the pride of the city, and the 13th Regiment an honor to the National Guard. It has had the honor of acting as an escort to one President of the United States, and of marching in the grand procession at the inauguration of two others. It has participated in the inauguration of two Governors of the State; and two of its Companies have been specially complimented, by another, as having given the most perfect exhibition of what may be done, by drill, in the use of arms.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Folly and Philosophy of Strikes—Conclusions and the Conclusion—Truths—Transitions—Benedictions.

**B**UT little remains to be recorded in order to complete the task which the author, with great hesitancy, undertook. A History of the "Scranton City Guard" necessarily carries with it an interesting and important chapter in the history of the City itself. It is also vitally connected with a striking epoch in the history of Labor and Enterprise, in the United States. It was there suddenly revealed, and imminent, peril to which the city was exposed by the angry Strike of all the working people of the Mining District, in which the city is situated; which called the Guard into existence. And it has been the known existence of the forces of evil, which the great strike of 1877 revealed, in every manufacturing city in the land, which has kept it on its steady and vigorous march. From a condition of profound peace, and active industry; in which all kinds of business enterprises were struggling to rise above the limitations, which commercial depression had placed in the way of trade; the whole community was aroused to the consciousness of absolute, and immediate peril. In three days after the first acts of the rebellion against law and order, which were undertaken by the Trainmen of the great railways, the hideous mob spirit was manifested in all the prominent centres of industry.

Cities, large and small, all over the land, were called upon to consider and provide measures of safety and defense. Intelligent society was startled from the profoundest sense of



peace and safety, to recognize the fact that the elements of direst evil to the community were in latent existence, wherever great industries gathered large bodies of workingmen; and placed them under the pay and control of great Corporations.

At Martinsburgh, at Parkersburgh and Wheeling, in West Virginia, almost simultaneously, the business enterprises, and the homes of the people, were placed in jeopardy by the lawless spirit, which was generated, possibly without intention, by the organized "Strike" of the railway operatives. In one night, the whole Baltimore and Ohio Railway, with its centers of business, fell into the possession of the strikers. In one day after the blockade of this railway, every city, and centre of associated industry, in the country had felt the shock; and manifested symptoms of the dangerous fever. Restless multitudes gathered at almost every Station, of importance, on the great Railways; and a feeling of undefined danger smote the hearts of the people. At Baltimore; the lawless element appeared, armed as a mob, to meet the first movement of the constituted authorities to maintain the dignity of law. In Pittsburgh, Altoona, Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Reading and Erie, in the State of Pennsylvania, the tempest arose almost simultaneously; before which the Public Officials stood aghast; and Society itself swayed and staggered as one half awaked from a horrid dream. At Columbus, Cincinnati, and Cleveland, in Ohio; and at Buffalo, Albany, Hornellsville and Elmira, in New York; the peril, to all that the peaceable citizen holds dear, appeared in a single day. The offices of Governors, and the White House at Washington, were disturbed by telegrams calling for troops, to prevent, circumvent and destroy rebellion; by the time the people began to read the newspaper reports of the Railway Strike. In all the centres of industry and population, from sea to sea, there was a movement of the forces of anarchy, more or less distinctly defined. Wherever there happened to be a trained military force, and executive officials

who were qualified for their positions ; as in the States of New York and Massachusetts, this tempest of passion passed away quickly, without injury ; or if the mob gathered it was dispersed before it could be concentrated, and become dangerous. But wherever the people stood neutral, or waited in indifference to see how the issue between Corporations and Operatives might terminate, the peril, like Jonah's Gourd, "grew in a night," and it cast a wonderful shadow.

It was a matter of universal amazement that such a population existed in the country, as at once blockaded the streets, and gathered in council, in the manufacturing and mining districts in the wake of the railway strike. The intelligent and virtuous workmen, who had yielded to passion, in their efforts to redress their own grievances, speedily found themselves in the hands of the ignorant and the vicious ; and thus unwittingly led by a dangerous philosophy, they found themselves plunged into a chaotic force, with which they had no sympathy ; and from which they could only be delivered by the prompt, and complete, defeat, or ignoble failure, of the lawless enterprise they had undertaken.

It was demonstrated ; particularly throughout the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, that the City's peril is to be discovered in the lawless spirit, which may at any time be aroused ; and that its only safe defense is to be found in the strong arm of legal force, immediately and remorselessly applied. If "history is philosophy teaching by example," then the history of the Scranton City Guard is something more than the mere record of the military enthusiasm of a battalion of intelligent and virtuous young men—a city's pride and plaything. This Guard has from the beginning been an organization of real force, under the ægis of law ; which has demonstrated itself to be that "ounce of prevention," which is "worth more than a pound of cure." By its march, and its manliness, it has redeemed the fair young city from the un-

worthy reputation, with which its promiscuous population, and its supposed lawless spirit, had burdened its character, and hindered its growth, through a series of years.

For a whole decade, the vacillation of labor interests, and the restlessness of the laborers had been manifest throughout the Wyoming and the Lackawanna Valleys. All enterprises of important business had been conducted with difficulty, with more or less fluctuation, and apprehension. A feverish unrest seemed to manifest itself, in a multitude of places, about the coal breakers, and machine-shops of every character. This was doubtless induced by a variety of causes, which are easily traceable to both the Corporations and the workmen which were employed by them. The inexperience of "the Companies;" the great variety of enterprises undertaken, with their various branches of necessary work, which their successful prosecution involved; and the immense difficulties which had to be overcome in the developments of the "Anthracite Coal Field;" would account for a vast deal of the uncertainty of movement, and the instability in the standard of wages which were paid to the men. The very large outlay of capital, which was necessary, before any return could be expected; with the amount of fruitless experiment, involved, in the underground search for paying minerals; and the fluctuations of an uncertain market, made the burdens of the Coal Operators a thousand fold heavier than those of the honest and industrious workmen employed; either in the Mines, in the Mills, or upon the Railways. Steady work at invariable prices was simply impossible, in schemes of industry which were so vast, and whose returns were subject to such incalculable contingencies. No Board, or Company, could fix a satisfactory standard of wages that would be safe, except from month to month. The suspension of work, the limitation of time, at different breakers, and the cutting down of wages in the whole field upon short notice, were necessities; as fully beyond the con-

trol, or certain knowledge of the Operators and Superintendents, as was that of the Workmen who were the special sufferers by it. Confidence between all parties, with the comity of kind and honest dealing, was the only mitigation; and time the only cure for this condition of things in this vast field of industry.

But there were causes for the restlessness of Labor; and for the gravest complaints of the laborers which were as clearly traceable to themselves. There was a constant change of a large body of these workingmen in the coal fields. There was a multitude of those "rolling stones which gather no moss," in these valleys, and on these mountain sides. There were also many enterprising men whose ambitions led them in search of new fields wherever better prospects invited; and there were just as many shiftless creatures, whose want of economy and prudence, or possibly misfortunes, kept them in the market-place waiting for some one to hire them. All these constituted conjointly a force which militated against such a settlement, and home interest in the great field, as would naturally tend to identify the workmen with their employers in these vast enterprises, which involved alike the interests of capital and labor. Then the immense immigration, invited by spurts of success, for years, flooded the market with labor. The great mass of this immigration was often made up of people of all races who came entirely ignorant of the spirit and genius of the country. They had been trained under a system of limitations, if not oppressions of the workmen; and they came to the country impressed with the conviction, that the normal relation of capital and labor is that of opposition and war. To all these, Freedom and Citizenship, meant opposition to Corporations; or equal profit in the products of capital, skill and labor. Workers, whether in the mines, the mills or on the railways; until they had become acquainted with the true spirit of the country, or until they possessed homes of

their own, and had become thus identified with the interests of the "Coal Fields," were necessarily an element of disturbance, of more or less force. This state of things was aggravated and made dangerous, under the efforts and leadership of demagogues and rascals, who called themselves workmen, and who assumed to have a special charge of the workmen's interests. Under the efforts and tuition of these parasites of society, schemes of combination on principles of selfishness, in opposition to corporations, and associations of capital became familiar. "The labor combination" and the "workmen's strike" came to be both marks of independent manliness in the freemen, and the efficient remedy for low wages and unsteady employment. The wrongs of individuals; or the scaling down of the wages in certain departments, were considered cause sufficient for an interruption of work in every department.

The consequence of all these causes was simply an aggravation and an increase of burdens upon all enterprise; if not the limitation and failure of business, in which the workmen were necessarily the first and the greatest sufferers. Under the manipulation of demagogues, and homeless laborers, who had no interest, either in the city or its enterprises, Strikes became almost chronic. Again and again, for three months, and then for six months, and even for a whole year, the machinery of these valleys was stopped or worked only in sections; and that, too, under the philosophy of strikes; while idleness bred brutality and intemperance among workmen, under which a multitude of laborers went down.

Under such a state of society and enterprise it was not strange that the reputation of the City of Scranton, and of the great body of its working people in the whole region of which it was the centre should suffer. The impression went abroad throughout the country, and very naturally, that these magnificent valleys afforded no security to capital, and a very uncertain protection to life. The strike of the miners afforded



great head-lines for the newspapers, and, possibly, danger in many directions appeared to the vision of peaceful citizens in other places. It was useless to publish in the great centres of money and population that Scranton was a city of law and order; that its citizens were a law-abiding people, dwelling in absolute safety. It was useless to assert that we were such a stable and peaceful city, that the city fathers deemed eleven policemen an ample force to protect the homes of fifty thousand people; and that nobody cared whether the Mayor were an honest, intelligent citizen, or a drunkard, and a vender of whisky. It was useless to publish that our jails were empty; and that fewer arrests were made, of law-breakers, within the precincts of the city than in any other city of its size in the State. As long as the laborers' Strike was the recognized institution of the coal-fields, whose demands and results must be considered by all capital-seeking investments, and by all manufacturers seeking a field for their enterprise; both the reputation of the city, and the life of all classes of its citizens, must actually suffer.

Every invitation to capitalists to locate, and every showing of the unlimited possibilities for all the great enterprises of our civilization, which were here being wasted, were received with smiles of incredulity or set aside with the wondering inquiry how any man, who possessed anything, could risk his life, or attempt to sleep in peace, in a community where ignorance ruled by force; and where the conduct of great enterprises must be determined by Committees and mass meetings of miners, or workmen, under the ægis of labor associations and under the shadows of the "strike."

Every enterprise and interest of the city had been handicapped by this evil reputation, arising from the chronic attempt of designing men and selfish demagogues to perpetuate an opposition between labor and capital, or to control enterprise by the ignorance and prejudices of the working people.



The Strike of 1877 was but the last of a series of these disturbances of evil omen and influence. It was vastly the more threatening from its connection with the spirit of anarchy; which at that time had swept so suddenly over the whole country. It was not the local, but the general issue of anarchy or law, which had arisen so unexpectedly, and before which the whole nation seemed to tremble.

To rescue the city from this imminent peril, and to perform the manly part of patriotic citizens of a great country, as well as to preserve all that was held dear, this city's defenders were called forth. It was in faithfulness to the great American idea of law and order, as the necessary conservator of a free Government, that the arm of defense was raised and the rescue of the city accomplished. The march of the young men, which has been deemed worth recording, was in perfect unison with that tread of freemen that echoes all along the lines of history, in the United States; which has left its uniform testimony, sealed with blood, that the safety of "Free Institutions," is to be found in the virtuous patriotism of the people, and in the supremacy of law.

When the rescue of the city was accomplished, the reasons for the existence of the military organization became only the more explicit and weighty. It was deemed both foolish and wrong to cast away the lessons which the revelations of the strike and its mobs had clearly taught the city. The dangers revealed were none the less certain, from their being overcome at present; or from the fact of their lying latent so long. To redeem the City and its surrounding interests from the incubus of this evil reputation and character, which had been so long endured, became the conscious duty of all classes of its citizens. Workmen, Superintendents and Capitalists alike felt the demand, and they wisely united in a determination to gather about this noble band of young men; who had taken the oath of the law, under all circumstances to maintain the

law. They determined to make the City Guard a leader in securing that order of things, under which stability, prosperity and peace, should return, and the wealth and comfort of a great city be developed. That longed-for peace did return with all its riches of blessing.

Wise men may indeed differ as to what measure of this restoration of prosperity, and confidence, is due to the march of the Guard. They may differ as to how far the redemption of the fair name of the city, already accomplished, is, in any sense, traceable to one cause or to another ; but no business man who has lived through the experiences of the last fifteen years in this valley will fail to discern a close, if not a causal connection, between the knowledge that there was in the city of Scranton a band of men who ever stood ready to use guns, under orders, against all lawless endeavor, and the blessed peace which has since reigned in all parts of the valley. The effects of the sunlight will be manifested in a thousand places ; in glens and deep gorges, where his descending rays are ever invisible. So the influence and power of a clearly-defined idea sweep around in lines we cannot trace, and reach out, in invisible forces, in the places in which there is no visible manifestation. The effect of the maintenance and training of such an organization, for the defense of the city, upon the citizens themselves, of all classes, can only be discerned through a course of years. But the contrast between these great interests of industry as they are conducted to-day, and have been for a decade, with what they were throughout the preceding ten years, gives us assurance that there has been somehow and somewhere a mighty power of order at work.

The last ten years—the ten years of the march of the City Guard—have been marked by rapid and radical changes in the city of Scranton, and in the valley of great industries of which it is the centre. The population has more than doubled in that period ; and the industries, especially in the way of manu-

factures, have increased more than fourfold. The improvement, in all matters which determine the public character of a community, has generally kept pace with the growth of the business and population. Notwithstanding the rapidity of the increase of population, and the tentative character of many of the business enterprises, the Christian, the moral, and educational institutions of a great city have been liberally provided for. The public works undertaken have generally been substantial, rather than elegant. Honest enterprise has given character to the City, and made it the beautiful home for a multitude of honest and worthy people. The evil reputation has been swept away, and the true character of the city and of its possibilities have only been known since the great upheaval; and since the City Guard appeared as its protest against all disorderly movements. The development of these possibilities in these ten years has been, indeed, marvellous.

It is a fact which ought now to be known in all places of the land, that there is no community or city of organized enterprise and great manufactures, in whose history less, just, reason can be found, for the existence of a war between Capital and Labor than in this young city among the mountains. While labor disturbances have been chronic, in its history; there has been as little of just and reasonable cause for them as can be found in any community in the country. The foundations of this youngest of the cities of the Commonwealth were laid by Christian men, of the largest views, and of distinctly honest purposes. Every provision, that could be made by workingmen for the comfort and improvement of workingmen, was made without stint or grudging. It is, and always has been, conspicuously a city of working people. Its citizens have generally shown themselves to be patriotic and law-abiding; its property owners and the managers of its great business schemes have, from the beginning, encouraged and helped the industrious laborers to secure homes for themselves. They

have kept open the highway of promotion, from the bottom to the top, along the lines of industry, virtue and skill, through all the years ; and along this highway miners and mule-drivers, puddlers and stokers, have passed, unhindered, save by their own weakness or vices, to the positions of honest respectability, wealth and power.

The City, so far in its history, has never yet had what is generally known as a retired business man. Its men of fortune have ever been its active workers ; its builders of public enterprise have always been its industrious and hard-working men, who have carried forward their own work with both brain and muscle. There are few cities in the world to-day where there has been less cause for those divisions and jealousies among the population, which are generated and fostered by the vague issues of what are called "labor questions." Any division among the citizens involving issues between capital and labor, here, could only be divisions of workingmen. The attempt to array laborers against capitalists is simply an effort, in this valley, to arraign workmen against workmen and always has been. The specific capital in the whole valley, has, for many years, been recognized as the magnificent fields of the Anthracite Coal. In order to make this capital of any practical use, there is a necessary outlay, which is impossible to mere individual enterprise or sacrifice. Association of capital is indeed an absolute necessity in this region. The demands of the case have given birth to Corporations ; and success has enlarged these corporations, until they are great and powerful ; but there has always been an open field, full room for enterprise, and fair reward for honest industry ; free to all the world. If these corporations, at any time, have been unjust or oppressive to their laborers, it has been no fault of the industrious and honest citizens of this City of honest and generous people.

The policy of Strikes is a policy of unwisdom and injustice, of the most inexcusable type. This is manifested in the fact

that it is an attempt to make the guiltless suffer with, if not for, the guilty. It is a selfish, remorseless assertion of rights and wrongs, which, if persevered in, is sure to make a business wreck in the business community itself. And all this upon the plea of wrongs done, or said to have been done, by a Corporation, which exists entirely out of the reach of either the strikers or their real victims. It is really an attack upon fellow-workers, in the great shop of industries, under pretense of striking men, who, by their successful industry, have graduated from this same shop ; and simply claim the right to use their capital, which was the fruit of their own labor, under their own control.

The enlightened public conscience, has no justification, or apology, for that conduct, or administration of business, which uses capital for the oppression of "the hireling in his wages ;" or for any attempt to reduce the laboring man to a condition of bondage by the bands of his own necessities. "THE GOLDEN RULE" IS THE TRUE CHRISTIAN LAW OF BUSINESS. "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you," contains in it treasures of the highest practical wisdom, as well as the announcement of the divine law of charity. It will be found to be the only cure, at last, for all the ills under which the workingmen suffer, and society frets throughout this world, and day of work. It will ever be found to be one of the most blessed functions of enlightened free government to perfect its laws ; so that the weak shall be delivered out of the hands of the strong. So that the worker shall be protected against the rapacity and power of capital in the hands of associated men, who may be tempted to use their less fortunate fellows, as if they were mere machines ; or who by the rapacity enkindled by success itself may be tempted, as the wicked Jews of old, to "sell the poor for a pair of shoes." It will also be recognized as the work of highest wisdom in the State, and of real blessing, both to rich and poor, to remove all reasonable



cause of complaint, all visible source of oppression, whose tendency is always to bring about a collision between the workman and his employer. But justice must as certainly be violated by an attempt, under law, to oppress the rich, as to allow the rich to become the master of the poor.

The right of any man to cease working, or to determine for whom, and for what wages, he shall work, no man of intelligence ever questioned. The right of any number of men to associate and fix a value upon their labor, and to refuse to work until they can secure the price which is established is equally unquestioned. But the right of one man, or of any number of men, to attempt to prevent from working those who set a lower price upon their services ; or skill, or whose condition demands that they shall work even for inadequate wages, is a direct infringement of the first principles of personal liberty. This is a plan of Co-operation and labor Association which enlightened law defines as a wicked "conspiracy," which true manhood must forever resist. It is an oppression which is blind and destructive of all the rights of the individual man—a mere monarchy of the mob.

The whole matter of "Combination," for the purpose of limiting business, and of controlling industry, to the end of aggrandizing particular parties, is essentially, at war with the best interests of mankind ; whether it be undertaken in the interest of Capital or of Labor. It can only end in injustice, oppression and abuse. The vital idea upon which the progress of commerce and true civilization must ever depend is that of JUST AND HEALTHY COMPETITION. Every man, waiting for work, must expect to be hired at his own true value ; and not at the valuation of a class or an Association with which he may be connected. Unless he shall first sell himself to his Association, this is impossible. Every corporation and association, for the purpose of manufacturing, or for the conducting of trade, or for the prosecution of any industry, must expect only



the rewards of the true values, which they may be able to present in the open markets of the world. "Co-operation," for the control of values upon the mere selfish basis, is a legal iniquity. It is an attempted obstruction of the march of that civilization whose life, power and blessing, to the world, are to be found only in the true appreciation of the individual man. Business is never to be conceived of as a scheme of benevolence, or a direct system of philanthropy. Fair competition and an open market are the demands of a free humanity; and every scheme of co-operation or association which brings the workingman to the doors of the shop, seeking for a place, upon any other ground than, that of his own personal worth to his employer, must be false in principle, and therefore degrading to manhood. COMPETITION, AND NOT SELFISH COMBINATION, IS THE ESSENTIAL FOUNDATION UPON WHICH THE WHOLE STRUCTURE OF INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY MUST STAND, IN A FREE COUNTRY, AND UNDER TRUE CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION.

The demand that men should be employed because they are members of a league or association; or that they shall work, or cease working at the order of such an association; is simply an attempt to place free men, and free labor, under a bondage, degrading and unendurable to true manhood. It is the inauguration of a system which will necessarily belittle humanity itself, and place barriers to the advancement and elevation of society. It is a scheme which is contrary to the whole spirit of our modern institutions. Its essential principle is, *that communism which leads to anarchy*, under which society or associated industry are alike impossible. In opposition to this whole scheme of evil, whether undertaken by a league of capitalists, and business companies in order to control production, and restrict the supply and demand of the market; or by the workmen, to their own aggrandizement, to secure that which they have not honestly earned, every virtuous, patriotic and worthy citizen should give his protest.

For upon its timely failure the peace and prosperity of the community must depend. The imminent danger of the city, in this land of free labor, on the basis of a just competition, is to be discerned in the legitimate issues of this combination of forces, which swamp individual manhood in the chaos of the crowd; and which eliminate conscience from the corporations and associations of capital. The substitution of unlawful force for reason; the triumph of might over right, is death to society itself; and everything which tends to this, carries its warning to the intelligent citizen upon its very face. Without the dignity and force of just law, no city, or community, can prosper or men hope to dwell together in peace.

It was upon the solid basis of these eternal principles of right that the city's defenders sprung, moved by the instincts of a free manhood and intelligent patriotism, on the day when the tempest of blind passion swept into its streets. It has been upon this broad and solid highway of free, personal, manhood; laid down by the fathers of the great Republic, and cemented by their blood, for the security of a mighty nation; and for the blessing of all coming races, and ages, that these Defenders of the City have ever marched. NOT MERE SOLDIERS, THESE; marching and counter-marching for a day, to afford a respectable back-ground for the display of "the pomp and circumstance of war;" but MEN, clothed with the uniform of a true manhood, and charged with a mission with whose eternal issues, war is only a contingency; and individual life, itself, a mere circumstance.

The work of maintaining the Guard with the high character and reputation which it had attained in the first five years of its service was both laborious and constant. Both officers and leading men in the ranks felt this burden, but they took it up intelligently and carried it with commendable perseverance. To be able to fully appreciate this work it must be remembered that every officer in command, and every private

in the ranks, had his own enterprise, his business, or his personal trust in active life, depending directly upon his industry and fidelity. It must be remembered that every man's duty as a Guardsman was taken simply as an additional burden in the plans of life; and that he not only served without recompense, but generally at the expense of his own resources. Remembering these facts it will not seem strange that many should grow weary of the service and find it the perplexity of their life.

The high impulse with which the organization was effected was necessarily short-lived. The substratum of genuine patriotic principle and of intelligent conviction were absolutely necessary to keep alive the military enthusiasm necessary to success. The visible danger of the city; which was generated in the manifest disposition of a certain class of people to resist the law, and attempt to control the business interests of the valley by terrorizing workmen, passed away as soon as the City Guard revealed its power and readiness to resist all lawlessness with deadly force. It was, then, but natural that, as soon as the imminent danger had passed from sight, and the workmen had returned in a body to their work, many excellent men who had promptly taken up arms, yet were entirely destitute of military taste, should be disposed to lay them down just as promptly. Especially was this to be expected of those who were burdened with the early struggles of business, or of professional life.

But the first symptoms of flagging interest were met and overcome by the manly struggles which necessarily followed from the burdens assumed, by the whole battalion, in the work of building the armory, and in the effort to place the Guard upon a permanent footing. The energetic young men, however oppressed or puzzled with their own burdens, could not find it in their hearts to forsake their companions while the honor of the Guard was pledged for the accomplishment of these high purposes.

Then followed the impulse and grand reinforcement which military taste and military success always bring to the help of such an enterprise. It is a wonderful help to the young man, "rejoicing in his strength," to know that there are admiring eyes fixed upon him; that there are loving hearts swelling with the deep appreciation which is created by the skill and manliness with which he performs a duty, which would otherwise be irksome, if not intolerable. The glow of enthusiasm is enkindled and intensified by the uniform, by the cadence of the step, by the touch of the elbow, and by the music of patriotic ardor! There is a wonderful fascination and increase of strength and of manly endurance created by the "pomp and circumstance of war," especially when it is only the preparation for war, as its best preventive. The sincere and universal appreciation of the City Guard as the city's Defense; on the part of the best citizens of the valley, helped to maintain the Guard more than can readily be measured. The best young men held fast to the work with worthy self-denial and perseverance. In many cases, doubtless, this was done from the conviction of their own loneliness in society, if they should drop out in the march.

These things, taken with the wise energy of the Colonel in varying the exercises and drills, in introducing and keeping up the contests on the rifle range, and affording the greatest possible break in the flow of daily duty,—especially in the annual Encampments,—made the service popular; and so kept in the Guard all good and true men, who could possibly endure the sacrifice, throughout the full term of their enlistment. When Colonel Boies closed his term of service it was discerned by all that the march of the battalion had been upward from the beginning. There had been no backward step. The Thirteenth Regiment had made a reputation which it would require constant diligence to maintain; nor had the City Guard existed long enough to maintain itself by the force of its own history.

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Many changes necessarily occurred in the *personnel* of the Regiment, and more especially in that of the City Guard, upon the retirement of Colonel Boies. The military family, which, for five years had lived, and marched, and struggled together was broken up. And it would hardly be possible to form another military family with the same elements in general, which should leave no regrets and no scars from the healing of the wounds made by the departure of those, who, for so many years, had worked, and bunked, and laughed together.

But the crisis was not necessarily made by the departure of the Colonel and his staff alone ; nor indeed chiefly. The full term of enlistment of a large number of the members of the four companies expired at the same time, and on the same day. The young men who had marched together for five years, the great mass of whom were as capable of fulfilling the duties of command as their officers, had served out their time in the ranks ; many of them persistently refusing promotion. And they were all ready to step out of the ranks satisfied with the honors of a faithful service. Their going out, too, would take with them the great personal interest of a multitude of the best citizens of the city in the *personnel* of the Guard.

Great anxiety was manifested by all who had the interest of the service at heart, lest the interest and enthusiasm should be suffered to flag and fall ; both among the members of the City Guard and among the mass of citizens who had so nobly sustained and cherished the organization. To forestall and prevent such a disaster, which all saw might reasonably be expected, and to tide over the dangers which the depression consequent upon the retirement of so many excellent officers and men had caused, an appeal was made to these veterans to re-enlist under conditions which were tacitly agreed upon. These terms in general were that they should be honorably discharged when, in the judgment of their officer, the service could permit



it, without detriment, or their necessities should require it, upon their own application.

By this measure, so generously accepted by the veterans, all perceptible shock was avoided. The changes of command, both in the Companies and in the Regiment, caused no fall in the high purpose of the organization. Thus were relieved the reasonable fears that the retirement of so many of the best drilled and influential young men, along with that of the Colonel ; who had so ably commanded, and generously treated, his associates in civil life ; would result in the visible weakening of the City Guard, and leave that organization to drop out of that public interest, which was absolutely necessary to its continued efficiency.

The social and business standing of Col. Boies gave him advantages for his Command, which enabled him to do a work for the whole Regiment, which few men, who were willing to take his place, could do. With the co-operation of his estimable wife, he was in the habit of giving an annual " Military Dinner " to the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, of the Field and Staff, in the City Guard. By this generous hospitality he attempted so to bring them into social contact as to cultivate and develop the gentlemanly instincts, necessary to efficient and pleasant co-operation in such an associated duty.

These unselfish favors were highly appreciated by the officers, and added greatly to their cheerfulness and manly devotion in the service. By this social feast the strongest bands were woven for the Colonel's military family ; and the higher motives of patriotic devotion were cherished. During the term of his services he was also able, by his business relations, to secure favors from the public for the Regiment which greatly relieved the burdens of the Guard, and enabled it to hold its position in the public esteem ; while his aggressive and outspoken policy, and his care of the best interests of the men in the ranks endeared him to the whole command. He retired,



bearing with him the deepest regrets, as well as the best wishes, of his associates. It was fully understood by all, both officers and men, that no man could be found in the city who might be able, exactly, to fill the niche which he left vacant.

But from the beginning, the Guard had marched with Col. Hitchcock, and was perfectly acquainted with both his military and personal worth. Both officers and men believed in him; and all fell into line under the new order, with undiminished confidence. Without question, the real and permanent excellence of the Regiment has suffered no real diminution under his command. It may have lost something of its high position in the interest and affections of the people of the city. But the population of the city has as greatly changed as has the membership of the Guard; and certainly the reputation of the Regiment in the National Guard, and among all military men of the State, has steadily advanced, under his efficient command.

The Roster of the Regiment, under the new administration, was as follows :

F. L. Hitchcock, Col.; E. H. Ripple, Lieutenant Col.; Henry A. Cour-  
sen, Major; Lieutenant Charles C. Mattes, Adjutant, who, after four  
years' service, resigned, and was succeeded by Edward J. Dimmick, and  
he by Everett Warren. S. C. Logan, D.D. Chaplain; Lieutenant John  
P. Albro, Quartermaster; Major H. V. Logan, M.D., Surgeon; First  
Lieutenant A. James Connell, M.D., Assistant Surgeon; First Lieuten-  
ant Clement L. Frey, M.D., Assistant Surgeon; Lieutenant Wm. B.  
Henwood, Inspector of Rifle Practice; he was succeeded in May, 1887,  
by Lieut. Herman Osthaus.

*Non-Commissioned Staff*—Everett Warren, Sergeant Major; Andrew  
P. Bedford, Quartermaster-Sergeant; William J. Morton, Commissary  
Sergeant; Edward Evans, Hospital Steward.

The Adjutancy of the Regiment has been held successively,  
and ably filled, first by Robert Macmillan, who resigned to re-  
turn to the ranks of Company A, and who through all the years  
has held a high position on the "regimental rifle team." He

was succeeded by Ed. F. Chamberlin, who, after two years' service, resigned because of the burden of business, and completed his service in Company A, as a private. He was succeeded by Frank H. Clemons, of Company C, who held the position about a year, and resigned on account of the demands of business. He was succeeded by Charles C. Mattes, of Company C, who filled the position with great efficiency and acceptance for four years, when he retired to the position of First Lieutenant of Company A. Mr. Mattes gave place to Edward J. Dimmick, who had served as second lieutenant of Company C. Lieutenant Dimmick served two years with efficiency as Adjutant, and also resigned because of the pressure of business. He was succeeded by Everett Warren, private, of Company A, and the sergeant-major of the Regiment during the year previous to his promotion.

The burdens of this office of Adjutant are the greatest that are imposed upon any member of the regiment; requiring so much time, and clerical service, that it can only be an imposition upon any business man in the National Guard. It is certainly unjust to the officer, and an imposition upon the whole organization, whose comfort and efficiency so much depends upon the Adjutant, to expect or require him to serve without sufficient pay to enable proper men to undertake the duties of the office. This position ought to be filled by a salaried officer in every Regiment of the National Guard. The Thirteenth Regiment has certainly had a succession of the best adjutants that could be found in the State. Each one of them has acquitted himself with the highest honor. All of them had been members of the Scranton City Guard. The same is true with regard to all the members in the Field and Staff, with the single exception of Surgeon Cummings, of the Honesdale Guards, who succeeded Surgeon Dunnell as the surgeon of the regiment. All the officers of the Field and Staff, both commissioned and non-commis-

sioned, in the Thirteenth Regiment, have been taken from the companies of the Scranton City Guard; and most of them have been members of the organization from the time the four companies were mustered into service.

The Medical Staff has, from the organization of the City Guard, held a high position, both by professional, character and the laborious efficiency with which these officers have guarded the health, and the morals, of the regiment. Nathan Y. Leet, the first Surgeon of the Guard, was a United States army surgeon of wide reputation. He wore the Major's shoulder-straps with distinguished honor throughout the four years of the great rebellion. Some of the most scientific surgical operations that were performed in the field stand recorded to his honor in the medical archives of the Government. While in full sympathy with the organization, the doctor could never quite gain his own consent to exchange his honorable, and well-worn, shoulder-straps for those of a single-barred Lieutenant, or to march in the Government service even with the straps of a major, under a commander who, whatever might be his military genius, had his military reputation yet to make.

He generously gave his influence and his medical services whenever needed, and allowed his name to stand for more than a year at the head of the medical staff of the Guard; while his Assistant, Dr. Henry N. Dunnell, who enlisted as a private in Company D, did the work, and marched with the medical chest. Dr. Dunnell made an excellent reputation while Assistant Surgeon, by the invention and supply of a medical chest, which, by its great convenience and variety, of medical stores contained in portable shape, surpassed, as is generally believed, any provision in the National Guard for camp and field medical service.

Upon the organization of the 13th Regiment, Dr. Leet declined further appointment, and Dr. Dunnell was placed at the

head of the Medical Staff with the rank of Major. He filled the position with ability and acceptance for two years, when he resigned because of ill health, and the pressure of professional business. Dr. W. H. Cummings, was appointed Assistant Surgeon, upon the promotion of surgeon Dunnell with the rank of First Lieutenant, and upon the resignation of his principal, was made Surgeon with the rank of Major. Surgeon Cummings in addition to his medical skill and patriotic devotion to the physical well being of the members of the Guard, was one of the best riflemen in the Regiment. He wore the crack shot badge of the Field and Staff each year of his service. His first Assistant was Henry V. Logan, M.D., and the second Assistant was Alex. James Connell, M.D. Both these young men were medical students at the time of the riots of 1877, and were identified with the earliest efforts to organize the "citizens' corps." They both entered the service as privates at the organization of Company A, and served with honor until their promotion to the staff. At the completion of the term of service of Col. Boies, Major Cummings retired with the other members of the staff. Upon the promotion of Col. Hitchcock, Dr. H. V. Logan was commissioned Major, and placed at the head of the medical staff, and Dr. A. J. Connell with the rank of First Lieutenant was appointed First Assistant. Dr. Logan had made a reputation for efficiency and devotion to duty in the service, whatever position he occupied, and earned his promotion by his fidelity in camp and field. He inaugurated a system of watchfulness and inspection in camp, which was of great service in securing healthfulness to the command. Whenever the Regiment was ordered out for drill, or was on the march, the Surgeon with his equipment, his medical stores and his Hospital Steward was found ready for professional duty. Whenever a soldier showed symptoms of weakness he was ordered out of the ranks for treatment. Or if any, overcome by the heat, fell by

the way, the Surgeon or one of the Assistants was always at hand to afford immediate medical treatment. The promptness and constancy with which Dr. Logan, and his indefatigable assistants, fulfilled their duty, gave the medical staff of the 13th Regiment a reputation throughout the Brigade and Division. It was no unusual thing in camp for a call to come from both Brigade and Division Headquarters for the Surgeons of the Thirteenth, when exigencies called for immediate medical skill; and, this was due to the fact that either the Major or one of his assistants was always visible when the Regiment was in the field. Dr. A. J. Connell proved himself a most excellent Surgeon, and fulfilled his term of service to universal acceptance. For six years he marched with the City Guard and fulfilled the duties of his position, in the ranks and on the staff, to the satisfaction of all his comrades, while burdened with the perplexities of professional preparations, and fulfilling the duties of increasing professional practice. Both Surgeons Logan and Connell deserved and secured the deep and universal gratitude of both officers and men for their long-continued and able services to the Scranton City Guard, and to the 13th Regiment. They both tendered their resignations in October of 1886, on account of the demands of professional service incident to the successful practice of medicine. But the reluctance of officers and men to lose their services and their companionship, prevented the acceptance of the resignation of Dr. Logan, and postponed that of Dr. Connell for six months, when he was relieved. Dr. Frey in his two years' service has shown himself entirely worthy to take the place of either of his ranking officers in his department; and upon the acceptance of Dr. Connell's resignation, he was promoted to his position, and H. D. Gardner, M.D. was appointed 2d Assistant Surgeon, with rank of First Lieutenant.

Without doubt Dr. Gardner will prove a worthy acquisition, both to the Medical Staff and the Regiment.



With regard to the MEN, who have constituted the rank and file in the ten years march of the City Guard, it must be recorded, that as a body, they have stood as an exception even in the National Guards of Pennsylvania. In many cases the private's uniform clothed as accomplished a gentleman, and as able and worthy a man as any who were called to command. There were men worthy of the rank and command of the Colonel, who served six and eight years, refusing anything higher than the chevrons of a sergeant, or corporal. Many who had been promoted to honorable commands, resigned their commissions, and went back into the ranks to bear the burdens of the common Guardsman. And in many cases the officers of the Company were hardly a fair average of either the character, ability, or social standing, of the men in the ranks which they commanded. The author has seen a whole company stand immovable, without the apparent change of a muscle, when a wrong order was given by the officer in command, on parade. Thus they stood in silence until the officer had time to discover and correct his mistake, and this was evidently without the possibility of preconcert.

Men were called from the ranks to positions upon the field and staff of the Regiment; of the Brigade; and of the Governor of the State. And of the original organization and of the men who first constituted the Four Companies of the City Guard it may be truthfully said, that the majority were as worthy of promotion, and would doubtless have proved as efficient to command as those who accepted the promotions and successfully fulfilled the duties of their positions.

With few exceptions, the members of the Guard were without taste or ambition for military honors, or preferment. They entered the ranks for service, and upon the conviction that their service was needed to insure the administration of law without menace, and to protect the property of the citizens from unlawful combinations of passion and force.



The bondage and duties of the soldier, always irksome to a free and unmilitary people, they undertook, with courage; and by upright and manly adaptation and obedience to discipline, they made the Guard a happy association to which they became greatly attached.

The change of the *personnel* of the Guard has been so gradual, and the work of preparing recruits for the places made vacant so diligently prosecuted, that the life of the battalion flows on peacefully, and the identity of the Guard, in its high position, has been preserved.

The 13th Regiment still holds its high position in the National Guard; and still sends its rifle teams to the front in the annual contest. It adorns its headquarters with the beautiful silver pitcher which was offered by the State, and presented by the Governor to the best Regimental Rifle Team. And although its veterans are scattered, and absorbed in the business enterprises which lead away from all thoughts of guns and military duties; and although many of the fathers who sacrificed for its organization and kept step with its march, have "fallen on sleep," the City Guard still has the confidence and is the pride of the City that gave it birth.

Thus throughout a ten years' service, with the fewest exceptions, the officers and men who rushed to the rescue in the day of the city's danger; and enlisted under the sanctions of a sacred oath to give the city of Scranton a Guard worthy of its own interests and character; and worthy of the Country to which it belongs, have fulfilled their patriotic duty.

Those who have completed, honorably, their term of service, are still interested to cheer on those who follow in their footsteps. Each worthy veteran is an efficient recruiting officer for the company in which he served; and in the high places of the field, on Brigade, Division and Governor's Staff, the Regiment still has its representatives from the City Guard to

call attention to the march, and provide for the needs of the honored 13th Regiment.

If any of its members have proved unfaithful, or have been dishonorably discharged, they are so few, and have shown themselves so insignificant in the community, that it is hardly known outside of the Guard itself that they have been so dishonored.

The Annual Encampment for military instruction and exercise ; which was the practical suggestion of the Scranton City Guard, and by the demonstration of its use and practicability, at its own expense, became its legacy to the Commonwealth ; was, in all the years, the time of genuine refreshment to all the young soldiers who were so constantly harnessed to the business of life. Life for a week in Camp became, both by anticipation and recollection, a way-mark in the march of existence. A buoyant life it was, glorified with manly exercises in manly arts ; spiced with the sparkle and novelty of a social mingling, entirely free from the artificial trammels of society. It became, to all who fulfilled honestly their duty, a blessed oasis in the pilgrimage of life. Fare and fun, shadow, sunshine and show-ers ; "Advance Guard," Commissary Stores and Quartermasterly perplexities ; "guard mount" and careful guard running for the conscientious purpose of instructing and exercising sentinels ; the genius of good fellowship and grotesqueness ; these all combine and sweep across the vision of the veteran, as he hears the music and listens to the tread of the 13th Regiment in its annual march to the Field.

There is the Dress Parade, and the parade without any amount of dress to speak of. There is the practical joke, which sends the guffaw of laughter all over the camp ; because men have become boys again, and are in the humor to be pleased. Then, there is the solemn gathering of straws in the early morning, by the gang of Special Police, extemporized from the band of unfortunates, who last night succeeded

gloriously in passing the pickets one way, but ingloriously fell into a failure on the return! Then, there were the hundred songs of the evening, when music, like a flooding fountain, burst up in every company street, and sent its streams rippling along under every tent-fly, when fragments of melody, sacred and secular, mingled promiscuously with the social rest of the evening hour. There, too, was the sharp ring of the Colonel's order for his horse, which, like an electrical battery, put life in the regimental legs, bipedal and quadrupedal, and served to mark time for Adjutants and Drum-Majors. Then, there was the great-hearted Major, with his tireless energy, and his chronic wrath against shirks, and colored waiters; and who only grew the more genial and kind-hearted by the eruption of his small volcano. There was the search for borrowed lanterns, and the unexpected and amazing discovery so frequent that the Chaplain's tent had been fortuitously pitched in the midst of the ruins of some unfortunate dealer in bottles and corks. There was the sham battle and the thorough drill, with their real work and refreshing excitement; and the hum and drone of the voices of the night when the day's duties were done. These, and a thousand other recollections sweep about among the Brothers of the Guard, with blessed cups of refreshment for the weary soul in the dust of life, and their strong ties with which to bind comrades together. To deliberately write up the camp-life of the 13th Regiment could only be a blundering attempt to commit murder in cold blood. It was a life to be felt and enjoyed; not to be detailed, and marshaled in the shackles of speech. There is a joy, as well as a grief, with which the "stranger intermeddleth not." This was the joy of the camp-life of the Scranton City Guards. Strangers meddle with it? They had better not.

But the "tattoo" sounds among the hills, and seems to be re-echoed from the cliff of clouds which close the doors of departed day. It sweeps through the camp with its solemn

warning of the duties that remain for the closing hour. The "guards" are set and the "watch-word" given. The monotonous music of "roll-call" with its variations, high and low, bass and tenor, has disturbed the stillness only to announce with the good-night salute "all present or accounted for."

"Taps" come speedily to "put out all lights;" save those which have been enkindled in the hearts of men and brothers; who have marched together to the music of a Free Country's Glory and Honor. These burn on, in the blessed glow of Christian love, through the silent hours of meditation and rest. In the deep darkness of that mysterious night, through which each of us in his turn shall pass, alone, these lights no "taps" shall extinguish.

BROTHERS OF THE MARCH, OF THE WATCH, AND OF THE CAMP!  
THE CHAPLAIN HAS TRIED TO RECORD SOME OF YOUR WORTHY  
DEEDS, AND NOW HE LEAVES YOU HIS HEARTY

### **Benediction.**



## APPENDIX (A).

HISTORIC ROLL OF COMPANY A, SCRANTON CITY  
GUARD.*Roll of Officers and Enlisted Men of Company A, 13th Regiment, N. G. P., from Aug. 14, 1877, to June 1, 1887.**(The list of officers shows the highest rank attained while in the company during the above period.)*

## CAPTAINS.

Bryson, Andrew, Jr., com. capt. Aug. 14, 1877; res. Sept. 17, 1878.  
 Knapp, Henry A., com. 1st lieutenant. Aug. 14, 1877; com. capt. Oct. 7, 1878; res. June 21, 1880; re-enl. same date in Co. A; com. maj. and judge adv. 3d Brigade, N. G. P., July 25, 1885.  
 Watres, Louis A., com. 2d lieutenant. Co. C, S. C. G., Aug. 14, 1877; 1st lieutenant. Feb. 8, 1878; capt. Co. A, 13th Regt., July 15, 1880; col. and gen. ins. rifle practice Jan., 1887, on Governor Beaver's staff.  
 Mattes, Charles C., enl. in Co. C, S. C. G., April 29, 1878; corp. April 9, 1879; sergt. July 1, 1880; sergt.-maj. 13th Regt. Jan. 20, 1881; adjt. Oct. 10, 1881; re-app. adjt. Oct. 26, 1883; 1st lieutenant. Co. A, 13th Regt., July, 1885; capt. Feb. 14, 1887.

## FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

Smith, Edward J., com. 2d lieutenant. Aug. 14, 1877; 1st lieutenant. Oct. 7, 1878; res. Oct., 1883.  
 Barnard, George F., enl. Aug. 14, 1877; corp. Aug. 14, 1877; sergt. March 2, 1878; 1st sergt. Jan. 13, 1879; 2d lieutenant. Aug. 30, 1880; 1st lieutenant. Oct. 29, 1883; res. June, 1885.  
 Chase, Edward E., enl. May 2, 1879; re-enl. May 2, 1884; corp. Nov. 5, 1882; sergt. Dec. 22, 1884; 1st lieutenant. April 27, 1885; 1st lieutenant. Feb. 14, 1887.

## SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

Macmillan, Robert, enl. Aug. 14, 1877; 1st sergt. Aug. 14, 1877; 2d lieutenant. Oct. 7, 1878; adjt. 13th Regt. Nov. 13, 1878; res.; re-enl. in Co. A April 24, 1882, and 1887.  
 Highriter, John C., enl. Aug. 14, 1877; sergt. Aug. 14, 1877; 2d lieutenant. Dec. 2, 1878; res. June 24, 1880.  
 Andrews, Morris J., enl. Aug. 14, 1877; corp. Aug. 14, 1877; sergt. Nov. 4, 1878; 1st sergt. Oct. 18, 1880; 2d lieutenant. Oct. 29, 1883.

## FIRST SERGEANTS

Arthur, Charles.	Post, Isaac.	Lee, Arthur H.
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## SERGEANTS.

Albro, John P.	Hosie, James P.	Parrott, George.
Boyd, William S.	Mace, Herbert A.	Torrey, James H.
Chittenden, Charles E.	Mott, Joseph A.	Throop, George S.
Conklin, Cloud C.	McClave, William R.	Thomas, David M.
Dolph, Edward S.	Huntington, Stephen V. D.	Walters, Charles F.
Hess, Henry E.	Osthaus, Herman.*	Watrous, Friend B.

\* Com. 1st lieutenant. and regt. ins. of rifle practice June 6, 1887.

## CORPORALS.

Beeber, Kimball H.  
 Bushnell, William C.  
 Biesecker, O. W.  
 Barr, Alexander.  
 Chamberlin, Josiah.  
 Cox, Herbert M.  
 Doud, Curtis W.  
 Foster, Henry J.  
 Foster, George B.

Hayes, Sidney T.  
 Jernyn, Walter M.  
 Kingsbury, N. J. W.  
 Kingsbury, Fredk. H.  
 Keller, Jefferson M.  
 Logan, Arthur C.  
 Norrman, Axel J.  
 O'Connell, William.  
 Partridge, Orlando B.  
 Robertson, Nathaniel G.

Smith, Andrew C.  
 Stone, Calvin E.  
 Sloat, Elmer C.  
 Shafer, Hampton C.  
 Stackhouse, Winfield S.  
 Stillwell, Fredk. W.  
 Weidner, Charles G.  
 Whitlock, Sidney B.  
 Ward, Winfield F.

## PRIVATES

Atkinson, Dwight R.  
 Atkinson, Alfred.  
 Bartlett, Charles.  
 Blanchard, Wilber S.  
 Baldwin, Edward F.  
 Brady Edward.  
 Barnard, Frederick.  
 Bartlett, Charles B.  
 Blatter, John.  
 Brooks, Arthur A.  
 Bonn, Albert.  
 Buell, Walter H.  
 Burnett, Roger L.  
 Bryant, Charles F.  
 Bluim, Charles D.  
 Bloom, Charles W.  
 Burdick, Henry.  
 Barnard, Edward.  
 Bertine, Edward L.  
 Corbett, Melvin J.  
 Coursen, Edward G.  
 Connell, A. James.\*  
 Chamberlain, Edward.  
 Clark, Frank E.  
 Clark, William O.  
 Campbell, Jacob F.  
 Curtis, Edward.  
 Cole, William.  
 Chamberlin, Edward F.  
 Clock, John N.  
 Corse, Clayton G.  
 Coryell, George K.  
 Clough, Charles M.  
 Comegys, Cornelius.  
 Craig, William.  
 Cunningham, M. Geo.  
 Clark, Jacob J.  
 Dickinson, Wharton.  
 Duer, William A.  
 Dean, N. J.  
 Disler, Wyent.  
 Doersam, George.  
 De Witt, George M.  
 Dimmick, Jacob O.  
 Dimmick, George B.  
 Davis, Roger E.

Evans, Edward.  
 Evans, John W.  
 Eckman, Philip N.  
 Foote, D. L.  
 Farr, John R.  
 Fern, John R.  
 Fields, Benj. D.  
 Frear, James E.  
 Fisher, Fredk. G.  
 Furman, Leander B.  
 Gaige, Oren J.  
 Goodrich, E. F.  
 Greenwood, Henry.  
 Gregory, Marion A.  
 Hosie, John H.  
 Hand, Fred. C.  
 Henn, Frank.  
 Humphrey, David W.  
 Harris, David.  
 Heil, Joseph  
 Huntington, Joseph C.  
 Hobbs, Joseph.  
 Hull, Harvey J.  
 Hayes, Andrew.  
 Hitchcock, Edwin S.  
 Healy, Louis W.  
 Hughes, Thomas R.  
 Hitchcock, Henry P.  
 Jay, William C.  
 Jones, Edmund J.  
 Jacobs, Fredk. A.  
 Jay, Edwin R.  
 Jossey, Jacob.  
 Jones, George F.  
 Kramer, Charles A.  
 Krigbaum, William L.  
 Koons, Frank D.  
 Kern, Charles J.  
 Killam, Benj. F.  
 Koch, Louis V.  
 Kingsbury, Selden H.  
 Kingsbury, Charles E.  
 Leysbon, John G.  
 Logan, Harry V.†  
 La Bar, Lorenzo G.  
 Longshaw, John R.

La Touche, Reno M.  
 Marple, William M.  
 Marvine, James A.  
 Maclaren, William A.  
 Mayer, George L.  
 Moses, Henry D.  
 Mitchell, Richard.  
 McClure, Harold M.  
 McArthur, Henry W.  
 Morris, Percival J.  
 Monies, Arthur.  
 Mason, W. Fred.  
 Morgan, Togarmah.  
 Maschal, Thomas D.  
 Neues, George.  
 Noll, John.  
 Otto, Frederick G.  
 Oakford, James W.  
 Paterson, William W.  
 Pass, William.  
 Parfrey, Alfred D.  
 Pallman, Charles M.  
 Powell, Charles J.  
 Parfrey, Aaron T.  
 Peckens, Ezra R.  
 Phillips, George W.  
 Phillips, Frank L.  
 Poore, John W.  
 Parrott, Eugene M.  
 Roberts, Austin K.  
 Repp, Eugene.  
 Ridgeway, Edward M.  
 Ross, Saever C.  
 Robinson, Gilbert D.  
 Rittenhouse, James H.  
 Robeson, Anthony M.  
 Reaves, Robert.  
 Riley, Theodore W.  
 Robertson, John H.  
 Robertson, William G.  
 Scheppe, Charles M.  
 Schlager, Alfred H.  
 Smith, M. D.  
 Smith, Fred. D.  
 Schlager, John H.  
 Stevens, David R.

\* Com. asst. surg. April 18, 1881.

† Com. asst. surg. Jan. 1, 1880; com. surg. 1884.



## PRIVATES—(Continued).

Scott, J. W.	Svenson, John.	Watkins, Reese.
Smith, J. Boyd.	Stearns, Edmund N.	Williams, Alvinza D.
Seamans, Charles S.	Thompson, Crandall, Jr.	Wade, Charles E.
Seymour, Lewis J.	Tinkham, J. L.	Warren, Everett.*
Spencer, Frank M.	Thompson, Edwin L.	Ward, John D.
Seigle, John H.	Verney, Edward M.	Wilson, Alfred A.
Seamans, William K.	Widdowfield, Robert.	Welles, Theodore L.
Smith, Frank A.	Wagner, Frank E.	Watson, Walter L.
Speece, William.	White, Charles W.	Zeller, Herman G.
Sherrerd, Morris R.	Walter, George J.	Zimmerman, Reuben A.

MEMBERS OF COMPANY "A" WHO HAVE SHOT ON THE STATE TEAMS AT  
CREEDMOOR, L. I.

Morris J. Andrews, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886.	George B. Foster, 1880, 1881.
John Blatter, 1880, 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886.	Joseph C. Huntington, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886.
George F. Barnard, 1879.	Robert Macmillan, 1879, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886.
Edward E. Chase, 1883, 1884, 1885.	Axel J. Norrman, 1880.
Edward F. Chamberlin, 1881.	James H. Rittenhouse, 1882.
	James H. Torrey, 1882, 1883.

## PRIZES WON BY COMPANY "A" TEAMS IN RIFLE PRACTICE.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (1) Sanderson Prize, 1879, 1880, 1881 final. | (5) Chaplain's Prize, 1884 final.           |
| (2) Company D Trophy, 1882 final.            | (6) Junior Marksmen's 1st Prize, 1884.      |
| (3) Citizens' Trophy, 1883-1884.             | (7) Junior Marksmen's 2d Prize, 1885, 1886. |
| (4) Company A Trophy, 1883 final.            | (8) Jermyn Trophy, 1886.                    |

For seven successive years, beginning in 1880, this company has qualified its entire membership, a record unparalleled in the history of marksmanship. During the season of 1886, out of nine regimental sharpshooters, A Company possessed four.

The company has also been active in competitive drills, winning 2d prize (\$500) at Baltimore in 1882, against five competitors, and receiving many marks of distinction at Washington, D. C., in 1884, on which occasion, however, all money prizes were withdrawn before competition took place.

HISTORIC ROLL OF COMPANY B, SCRANTON CITY  
GUARD.*Roll of Officers and Enlisted Men of Company B, 13th Regiment, N. G. P., from Aug. 14, 1877, to June 1, 1887.*

(The list of officers shows the highest rank attained while in the company during the above period.)

## CAPTAINS.

Merriam, R. B., com. Aug. 14, 1877; res. Jan. 16, 1878.  
Bartholomew, Daniel, com. 1st lieutenant. Aug. 14, 1877; com. captain. Feb. 13, 1878; res. Nov. 1, 1881.  
Kellow, William, com. 2d lieutenant. Aug. 14, 1877; com. 1st lieutenant. Feb. 13, 1878; com. captain. Nov. 30, 1881; re-com. captain. Nov. 30, 1886.

## FIRST LIEUTENANT.

Madison, H. R., enl. in Co. B, S. C. G., Aug. 14, 1877; app. 3d sergeant. Aug. 15, 1877; 2d sergeant. March 6, 1878; 1st sergeant. Nov. 18, 1878; com. 2d lieutenant. Oct. 29, 1879; com. 1st lieutenant. Nov. 30, 1881; re-com. 1st lieutenant. Nov. 30, 1886.

\* App. sergt.-maj.

## SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

Fuller, Charles R., enl. in Co. B Aug. 14, 1877; 1st sergt. Aug., 1877; com. 2d lieutenant. Feb. 13, 1878; res. Oct. 29, 1879.  
 Millar, W. S., enl. in Co. B, S. C. G., Aug. 14, 1877; app. corp. Aug. 17, 1877; sergt. May 3, 1879; com. 2d lieutenant. Nov. 30, 1881; res. July 20, 1885.  
 Williams, Thomas J., enl. Aug. 17, 1881; app. sergt. March 23, 1883; 1st sergt. May 14, 1884 com. 2d lieutenant. July 20, 1885.

## FIRST SERGEANTS.

Fuller, Chas. R.	Chittenden, Charles E.	Campbell, George A.
Watts, W. J.	Clarke, Wm. E.	Shawe, Herbert R.
Hine, Miles D.		Chamberlin, Edward F.*

## SERGEANTS.

Logan, Wm. K.	Hine, Wm. E.	Jones, Wm. W.
Bailey, John.	Carey, James B.	Cutler, Wm. H.
Kemmerer, L. D.	Goodwin, Walter H.	Woolsey, Judson B.
Newman, D. J.	Godshall, J. D.	Dieter, Robert.
Spragle, Lorenzo.	Miller, John.	Elsinger, Daniel.
Storm, Hayden R.	Peppard, Wm. H.	Evans, J. W.
	Crosdale, Harry B.	

## CORPORALS.

Fuller, Harry G.	Brown, George B.	Kester, George B.
Brightman, Wm. A. W.	Charles, Robert.	McClintock, T. J.
Morris, George A.	Bortree, L. C.	Powell, Arja V.
Pierce, Wm. H.	Howe, John T.	Harvey, George S.
Fuller, James A.	Bacon, H. G.	Shaffer, James.
Fowler, Wm. M.	Graff, Martin.	Horton, L. M.†
Fassold, Wm. G.	Olddorf, Joseph.	McFarland, Frank.
Leamy, Daniel A.	Smith, Peter P.	Bushnell, W. C.
	Tompkins, James.	

## PRIVATES.

McWilliams, Alexander.	Vail, Amos.	Olddorf, Joseph.
McDonnell, Wm. C.	Carey, Charles W.	Cannon, C. W.
Wolfe, Frank.	Deats, John A.	Adler, Henry.
Gager, George W.	Cogswell, Herman E.	Moir, John W.
Vail, James W.	Bonn, Henry.	Baird, John F.
Ferber, Jacob.	Dermuth, Jacob.	Dowdell, Geo. W.
Slautz, Charles.	Dippre, John.	Flanders, James.
Sweezy, M. J.	Grambs, Frederick.	Smale, Peter P.
Derby, Andrew J.	Foote, Adelbert L.	Fiedler, F. W.
Sharpe, Wm. L.	Nichols, L. W.	Hayes, James.
Watts, Thomas H.	Cooper, Charles L.	Phillips, John.
Whitbeck, John E.	Kelder, Wm. B.	Day, Delbert.
Young, Wm. H.	Metzgar, Peter.	Klotz, John R.
Soelner, Edward.	Sherwood, William.	Weeks, Frank E.
Lewert, Jacob C.	Van Sickles, Louis.	Fuller, Phineas H.
Poland, George.	Wilson, S. J.	Thirwell, George E.
Williams, Walter.	Watson, John D.	Penworth, Julius.
Smale, Peter.	Hayes, John J.	Teeter, Charles L.
Miley, Frank.	Brock, Henry.	Kennady, James D.
Dimler, Frederick.	Kesty, Charles C.	Block, William.
Carey, C. W.	Ottinger, Frank.	Bennett, George F.
Dean, J. C.	Dunning, Abram B. Jr.	Lewis, Harvey S.
Shillston, Frank.	Angle, John D.	Steinback, Marvin.
Tiffany, P. G.	Bird, Adam.	Bourger, Joseph.

\* Pro. to adjutancy 13th Regt., rank of 1st lieutenant.

† Pro to q.in.-sergt. on Col. Boies' staff.

## PRIVATES—(Continued).

Griffin, George.	Rogus, Joseph W.	Meinzer, John.
Wilson, Harry.	Starkweather, George.	Rafter, Wm. E.
Fisher, B. W.	Tewksberry, E. M.	Heinzler, Joseph.
Riach, James P.	Fisher, Bert.	Werner, Frederick.
Jacobs, C. S.	Fordham, Arthur F.	Pichel, Bruno.
Evans, G. A.	Forkel, Wm. F.	Vliet, John L.
Frier, A.	Burdick, Wm. E.	McArthur, Henry.
Carr, A. L.	Foyne, Charles.	Siegel, John M.
Lord, A. D.	Pennwarden, Frank.	Terwilliger, I. Frank.
Webley, Wm.	Witthausen, George.	Blackmar, Daniel H.
Ferber, Henry F.	Malons, Frank.	White, George W.
Rice, S. H.	Lockard, Edward.	Fredenburg, Frank.
Roberts, W. K.	Madden, John.	Nash, Herbert E.
Silkman, Joseph R.	Kramer, Augustus.	Davis, Edward S.
Sweet, John B.	Farrell, Harris J.	Penman, George.
Stone, J. D.	Mackey, Charles D.	Cornish, William N.
Swift, C. W.	Ballard, John W.	Palmer, W. W.
Taylor, John.	Krimbbar, Christian.	Bennett, W. E.
Kellerman, Fred.	Tarvis, Julian.	Kellow, John B.
Cowan, Edward.	Follett, Lewis R.	Bierman, Anthony.
Becker, John.	Kiefer, Henry.	Hadley, William.
Payne, Irving L.	Smith, George W.	Cyphers, Abram F.
Ballard, J. W.	Hopewell, Harry W.	Lutz, Jacob.
Mills, James.	Fowler, Charles S.	Gilbert, H. James.
Finch, O. S.	Rhoads, Charles.	Cutler, U. G.
Young, Conrad.	Stewart, John K.	Weingartner, Moses.
Miller, Henry.	Hazen, Joseph.	Hopkins, Henry.
Mulley, Wm. A.	Chambers, Elmer E.	Thomas, Robert W.
Dowd, Frank E.	Webb, Philip B.	Meany, William.
Luce, J. S.	Wirth, Frederick.	Thatcher, Owen.
Aufrecht, G.	Nicholson, C. A.	Stetter, Charles.
Coleman, J. J.	Fetzgar, Philip.	Wolf, Richard.
Umpfred, J. W.	Cowles, Wm. L.	Reynolds, Grov W.
Campbell, George.	Siebert, Fred. C.	Doyle, Henry.
Reynolds, Phineas.	Roerick, Peter.	Thomas, Charles F.
Mulley, Joseph H.	Brown, R. H.	McDermott, Henry F.
Courtright, Frank.	Ruple, John S.	Malott, George.

HISTORIC ROLL OF COMPANY C, SCRANTON CITY  
GUARD.*Roll of Officers and Enlisted Men of Company C, 13th Regiment, N. G. P., from Aug. 14, 1877, to June 1, 1887.**(The list of officers shows the highest rank attained while in the company during the above period.)*

## CAPTAINS.

Coursen, Henry A., com. Aug. 14, 1877; elected maj. of the 13th Regt. Oct. 10, 1883.  
 Penman, T. F., com. Nov. 3, 1883; private Co. C Aug. 14, 1877; corp. Aug. 14, 1877; sergt. July 1, 1878; 2d lieutenant April 24, 1879; 1st lieutenant Aug. 3, 1880; app. and com. ordnance officer and ins. of rifle prac. of 3d Brigade, with rank of maj., April 4, 1884.  
 Moir, James, private Aug. 24, 1877; corp. Jan., 1878; color sergt. March, 1879; 1st sergt. July, 1881; 2d lieutenant May 8, 1883; 1st lieutenant Nov. 6, 1883; com. capt. May 13, 1884.

## FIRST LIEUTENANTS.

Brown, James E., com. 1st lieut. Aug. 14, 1877; res. Feb. 8, 1878.  
 Watres, Louis A., com. 2d lieut. Aug. 14, 1877; 1st lieut. Feb. 8, 1878; elected capt. of Co. A July 15, 1880.  
 Henwood, William B., private March 10, 1879; corp. Aug. 16, 1881; sergt. April 3, 1883; 1st sergt. May, 1883; 1st lieut. May 13, 1884.

## SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

Judson, Charles E., elected Feb. 8, 1878; res. April 24, 1879.  
 Dimnick, E. J., private Aug. 14, 1877; corp. Aug. 16, 1877; sergt. Aug. 31, 1877; 2d lieut. July, 1880; res. early in 1883.  
 Gunster, Charles W., private Aug. 21, 1877; corp. Sept., 1877; sergt. July, 1880; 1st sergt. May, 1883; 2d lieut. Nov. 6, 1883.

## FIRST SERGEANTS.

Manness, W. D.	Culver, J. H.	Gunster, George N.
	Chase, Herbert B.	

## SERGEANTS.

Dunnell, H. N.	Nolan, James.	Barker, Frank S.
Seward, Christian.	Schoonover, D. W.	Raub, W. A.
Kerr, S. G.*	Wagstaff, Edward.	Scism, D. W.
Clemons, F. H.	Ferber, C. C.	Godfrey, F. S.
Mattes, E. C.	Morton, Wm. E.*	Healy, Eugene.

## CORPORALS.

Battin, H. S.	Dickson, W. M.	Hall, Fred. C.
Connell, C. R.	Dunn, Alex.	Ferber, H. W.
Daniels, T. P.	Merrill, H. H.	Flynn, Joseph.
Ayala, Stephen.	Maddocks, Geo. H.*	Holtham, Thos.
Reisig, Joseph.	Milligan, Peter.	Lynde, E. H.
Fuller, G. W. S.	Gunster, H. G.	Walden, J. S.
Rockwell, W. B.	Roebling, Frank.	Seward, Wm. L.
Holliday, John.		Vosburg, John.

## PRIVATEES.

Bensley, Rudolph.	Roth, Amil.	Hess, Jno. E.
Calver, W. L.	Bartlett, C. B.	Smith, H. M.
Connell, F. H.	Bullard, C. O.	Bradbury, N. P.
Cust, John B.	Moir, Jas. S.	Blatter, Edward.
Gleason, L. J.	Phillips, R. A.	Edwards, Geo. M.
Harper, G. R.	Phillips, Herman.	Longcore, Geo.
Kierstead, A. B.	Mattes, C. C.	Mayhew, F. W.
Manness, R. O.	Cannon, C. W.	McNichols, W. M.
Rice, F. W.	Van Vallen, C.	Murray, G. F.
Rozelle, M. B.	Owens, G. W.	Smith, E. G.
Snow, A.	Haag, Otto.	Moir, Wallace.
Simrell, V. A.	Knapp, J. C.	Barthel, Chas. F.
Sweet, H. B.	Kingsbury, E. F.	Devine, David.
Schoonover, S. S.	Hill, Chas. H.	Hull, Howard.
Schlager, J. W.	Halstead, S.	Taylor, Herbert L.
Vanness, Wm.	Potter, Leroy.	Sheppard, F. H.
Wolf, George E.	Parton, Preston.	Searles, C. J.
Walter, A. B.	Welch, W. J.	Wasman, H. F.
Miller, A. J.	Ansley, Lincoln.	Atkinson, Alfred.
Farnham, C. E.	Belden, E. H.	Culver, A. B.
Vanness, Leopold.	Cables, Howard.	Carmichael, Jas.
Bergerhoff, Henry.	Haines, D. S.	Sando, Wm. F.
Bradley, J. H.	Reading, Isaac.	De Ayala, Wm.

\* App. com.-sergt.

## . PRIVATES—(Continued).

Gaul, C. H.	Staples, James.	Beworth, F. E.
Gaul, W. A.	Tiffany, G. A.	Cole, J. P. R.
Armstrong, Uriah.	Junele, Frank.	Griffin, Wm. A.
Hoffman, E. P.	Boice, C. H.	Ellers, J. A.
Gould, A. R.	Haag, Robt.	Gable, George L.
Mathews, C. W.	Storms, E. A.	Hoffard, S. M.
Adams, Seth W.	Woolsey, H. J.	Kidney, F. M.
Weitzel, P. E.	Flory, Clarence M.	Davis, L.
Rice, Chas.	Dowling, Jas.	Dolmetsch, Otto.
Yetter, Levi.	Gable, G. L.	Gow, Joseph W.
Davidson, M. W.	Mitchell, J. L.	Labar, Charles M.
Hill, Emory.	Paterson, W. W.	McCabe, Bernard.
Singer, Chas.	Wrigley, J. W.	McDonald, Chas.
Paff, Jacob.	Chase, Geo.	Moore, H. P.
Williams, D.	Ellis, F. W.	Teller, Chas. R.
Wolfe, W. H.	Hughes, E. C.	Boyer, Chas.
Wheeler, Wm.	Monies, Geo. B.	Carr, W. H.
Bradbury, Wesley.	Powell, Carodic.	Woodling, Jerome.
Depue, Jesse A.	Pilger, Frank.	Whitman, F. J.
Merrill, J. A.	Snyder, S. H.	Babtist, Wesley.
Smith, A. W.	Stull, Jas.	Beesecker, Daniel.
Samter, Benj.;	Shafer, John E.	Cowles, W. C.
Valentine, A. J.	Andrews, D. B.	Connell, Fred.
Archbald, Jas.	Armbrust, Louis C.	Fruehan, Jacob.
Hewitt, A. C.	Boun, A. L.	White, Jno.
Sunday, Edward.	Bansen, H. M.	Kendall, Wm.
Stewart, W. C.	Davis, Arthur.	Hedrick, Fred.
Dewitt, Jas. R.	Gessler, H. J.	Bedford, A. P.

The company has been engaged in competitive drills, winning the "Belin Trophy," offered to the best-drilled company in the 13th Regt., the competition requiring three annual drills to determine its winner. The only competitors in the last drill were Companies A and C.

They also took the first prize on July 4, 1885, in a competition open to companies of the 9th and 13th Regts.

HISTORIC ROLL OF COMPANY D, SCRANTON CITY  
GUARD.*Roll of Officers and Enlisted Men of Company D, 13th Regiment, N. G. P., from Aug. 14, 1877, to June 1, 1887.*

(The list of officers shows the highest rank attained while in the company during the above period.)

## CAPTAINS.

- Ripple, Ezra H., com. capt. Aug. 14, 1877; maj. 13th Regt. Oct. 17, 1878; lieutenant-col. Oct. 10, 1883.
- Linen, James A., com. 1st lieutenant. Aug. 14, 1877; capt. Nov. 15, 1878; res., and re-enl. as private May 1, 1880, and served to July 6, 1883.
- Hines, Samuel, 1st sergeant. Aug. 14, 1877; 2d lieutenant. Aug. 25, 1877; 1st lieutenant. Nov. 15, 1878; capt. July 6, 1880.
- Thompson, Geo. B., enl. Aug. 29, 1877; corp. Aug. 29, 1877; sergeant. May 16, 1879; 1st lieutenant. July 6, 1880; capt. April 4, 1884; res. Oct. 16, 1886.
- May, Wm. A., enl. Feb. 19, 1878; corp. May 16, 1879; sergeant. Jan. 8, 1881; 1st sergeant. March 30, 1883; 1st lieutenant. April 4, 1884; res. Nov. 16, 1885; capt. Nov. 26, 1886.

## FIRST LIEUTENANT.

Wilcox, Wm. A., enl. March 5, 1880; corp. May 3, 1882; sergt. March 30, 1883; 2d lieutenant June 30, 1884; 1st lieutenant Jan. 22, 1886.

## SECOND LIEUTENANTS.

Hitchcock, F. L., Aug. 14, 1877; adjt. S. C. G. Aug. 25, 1877; lieutenant-col. Oct. 17, 1878; col. Oct. 10, 1883.  
 Jackson, Edward S., enl. Aug. 14, 1877; sergt. Aug. 16, 1877; 1st sergt. Sept. 27, 1878; 2d lieutenant Nov. 15, 1878; res. Jan. 12, 1883.  
 Hand, George B., enl. Aug. 14, 1877; corp. Sept. 27, 1878; sergt. Aug. 5, 1881; 2d lieutenant Jan. 19, 1883; res. April 19, 1884.  
 Fellows, Eugene D., enl. May 15, 1880; corp. Aug. 11, 1881; sergt. March 30, 1883; 1st sergt. Jan. 9, 1885; 2d lieutenant Jan. 22, 1886.

## FIRST SERGEANTS.

Harding, James L.  
 Belin, Henry, Jr.\*

Lawson, David T.  
 Stevens, Samuel H.

Baker, Arthur L.  
 Barnard, Montrose.

## SERGEANTS.

Detweiler, Frank P.  
 Dickson, Alex. W.  
 Fowler, Edward C.  
 Hackett, Wm. T.

Lindsay, Charles H.  
 Lord, Edwin W.  
 Ives, George H.  
 Moore, Sidney H.  
 McAskie, John G.

Mattee, Louis T.  
 Pratt, Claude B., Jr.  
 Van Bergen, Henry C.  
 White, James L.

## CORPORALS.

Beutley, George F.  
 Bradbury, Charles E.  
 Bryant, Jacob.  
 Conrad, Charles C.  
 Deacon, James H.  
 Dimler, Henry, Jr.  
 Ives, Edwin W.

Krigbaum, Harry L.  
 Lewis, John H.  
 McDivitt, Samuel P.  
 McWilliams, James.  
 Porter, Henry T.  
 Price, Samuel B.  
 Reynolds, George F.

Sando, Michael F.  
 Seeley, Leverett I.  
 Shurer, Daniel J.  
 Shirer, Edwin N.  
 Stokes, Fremont.  
 Stratton, Randolph.  
 Wilcox, Asa H.

## PRIVATES.

Acker, Wm. L.  
 Archbald, Robert W.  
 Atkinson, W. H.  
 Bailey, John.  
 Becker, Fred., Jr.  
 Blair, Austin B.  
 Blair, J. Selden.  
 Boies, Henry M.†  
 Bowen, Joseph.  
 Breck, George L.‡  
 Buck, Edward L.  
 Buck, H. D.  
 Burke, James E.  
 Burke, W. J.  
 Burr, Chas. S.  
 Butler, Henry C.  
 Capwell, John N.  
 Carlton, George W.  
 Carroll, Thomas H.  
 Coleman, Wm. A.  
 Connell, Alfred E.  
 Connell, James L.

Connell, John J.  
 Connelly, Wm.  
 Conrad, Wm.  
 Coray, George E.  
 Cornwall, Marcus D.  
 Cramer, Fremont E.  
 Davenport, Henry B.  
 Deacon, Henry H.  
 Dennis, Augustus C.  
 Dennis, Junius B.  
 Doersam, Geo.  
 Dougherty, Geo.  
 Downing, Wm. F.  
 Drinker, Alfred C.  
 Drinker, Herbert C.  
 Dunning, Harry G.  
 Edgar, Wm. B.  
 Edwards, Charles A.  
 Edwards, James H.  
 Eisele, J. Geo.  
 Ensminger, Harry.  
 Fairbrother, Thos.

Fellows, George H.  
 Fowler, Charles S.  
 Fowler, Wm. M.  
 Grambs, Geo. (musician).  
 Grant, Hezekiah K.  
 Graves, George F.  
 Hagan, Harry (musician).  
 Haight, Denning R.  
 Haldeman, Wm. B. (mus.).  
 Hall, George (musician).  
 Hamilton, Fred. B.  
 Hand, Charles W.  
 Handley, Martin.  
 Harvey, Wm., Jr.  
 Harris, Charles M.  
 Harris, George H.  
 Haslam, Arthur B.  
 Hays, John J. (musician).  
 Hays, Michael (musician).  
 Henwood, E. P.  
 Ives, Henry M.  
 Ives, Wm. W.‡

\* Pro. to maj. and ordnance officer brigade staff April 19, 1879.

Pro. to maj. S. C. G. Aug. 14, 1877.

† Capt. and paymaster S. C. G. July 10, 1879.

‡ Pro. to hosp. steward Aug. 27, 1877.



## PRIVATES—(Continued).

Jifkins, Edward J.	Morris, George A.†	Smith, Charles R.
Johnson, Morris W.	Neave, Wm. J.	Smith, Fred. C.
Kaufhold, H. A.	O'Neill, Harry.	Smith, Fred. W.
Kays, Martin R.	Owens, George W.	Smith, Henry W.¶
Keenan, John (musician).	Parrott, Joseph.	Smith, Steven R.
Kehren, Wm.	Patterson, Herbert S.	Smith, Wilbur F.
Keller, Clarence.	Pearson, Hiram.	Stanton, Byron T.
Kiernan, J. J.	Persch, W. A.	Steele, Louis R.
Kingsbury, Henry A.*	Plumley, W. E.	Stevens, Charles W.
Kingsbury, Harry W.	Poore, John B.	Stokes, Alfred S.
Kingsbury, N. J. W.†	Raymond, Thomas.	Streeter, Howard M.
Kirkpatrick, Jacob.	Rayner, Wm. M.	Sturges, Edward B.
Kisler, J. M.	Reddington, Joseph P.	Swartz, Samuel T.
Krugerman, Gustav.	Reynolds, E. P.	Tewksbury, Nelson.
Lackey, S. A.	Reynolds, Ira (musician).	Thomas, James R.
Leonard, Michael (mus'n).	Reynolds, S. M.	Thomas, Wm. (musician).
Longshore, John R. (mus.).	Rose, John M.	Tiedell, Frank.
Lush, James.	Ruthven, James.‡	Ulmer, George H.
McAlpine, Samuel (mus'n).	Ruthven, James W.	Walter, Edward.
McDonnell, Wm. J. (chief musician).	Sanderson, George.‡	Walter, George.
McNulty, Owen.	Sayre, Hiram.	Walter, H. J.
McVittie, Mortimer.	Schlager, Charles J.	Walter, Louis.
Mack, Robert.	Scragg, John F.	Weissenflue, Richard R.
Mahoney, John C. (mus'n).	Seaver, Jay W.	Welles, Charles H.
Mauska, Charles.	Shaw, Albert C.	Williams, Fred.
Meredith, Samuel R.	Shirer, Daniel J.	Williams, Robert J.
Mershon, John W. (mus.).	Simons, Artemas W.	Wilson, Joseph S.
Millett, George F.	Simpson, Wm. T.	Wolfe, Burr T. (musician).
Morgan, Charles A.	Slocum, Frank W. (mus'n).	Wolfe, Howard.
		Wood, Fred. E.

## PRIZES WON BY COMPANY D.

- (1) Nay Aug Rifle Association Trophy, consisting of silver ice pitcher, salver and goblets; won in 1879.
- (2) Boies Trophy, shield and armor, to company qualifying greatest number of men; won in 1878, 1879 and 1880.
- (3) Silver cup, given by Nay Aug Rifle Association; won by team of four men in 1879.
- (4) Two steel engravings, given by Col. H. M. Boies; won in 1880.
- (5) Citizens' Trophy, a pair of bronze statuettes, given by citizens of Scranton; won in 1881, 1882 and 1883.
- (6) Boies Skirmishers' Match Prize, silver pitcher, given by Col. H. M. Boies to team of five men; won in 1884.
- (7) Colonel's Match Prize, steel engraving, given by Col. F. L. Hitchcock; second prize in 1884 and first prize in 1885.

## QUALIFIED MARKSMEN COMPANY D.

Year.	Qualified.	Year.	Qualified.
1878.....	18	1884.....	40
1879.....	47	1885.....	46
1880.....	63	1886.....	39
1881.....	40		—
1882.....	38	Total.....	362
1883.....	31		

\* Capt. and com. Aug. 23, 1877.

† Trans. to Co. A June 12, 1878.

‡ Trans. to Co. B.

§ Pro. Aug., 1877, q.m., with rank of 1st lieutenant.

¶ Pro. capt. and paymaster Aug. 25, 1877; lieutenant-col. and div. insp. July 15, 1879; col. and gen. insp. rifle practice, on staff of commander-in-chief, Feb. 23, 1883.

¶ Trans. to Co. C.

## REPRESENTATIVES OF COMPANY D AT CREEDMOOR.

Capt. George B. Thompson, 1879, '80, '81, '82,	Private C. H. Welles, 1879, '80, '81, '82, '83,
'83, '84, '85, '86.	'84, '85, '86.
Lieut. George B. Hand, 1879, '80, '81, '82.	Private H. M. Ives, 1882, '83.
Sergt. C. B. Pratt, 1882, '84, '85, '86.	Private C. R. Smith, 1881.
Corp. George H. Ives, 1879, '80, '81.	Private A. L. Baker, 1882, '83, '84, '85, '86.
Corp. E. W. Ives, 1881, '82, '83.	

## REPRESENTATIVES OF COMPANY D IN THE INTER-STATE MATCHES.

Match of 1879, 4 men.	Match of 1883, 4 men.
" 1880, 4 "	" 1884, 4 " winners.
" 1881, 6 "	" 1885, 4 " winners.
" 1882, 6 " winners.	" 1886, 4 "

## REPRESENTATIVES IN ARMY AND NAVY JOURNAL CUP MATCHES.

Match of 1879, 4 men.	Match of 1882, 5 men, winners.
" 1880, 4 "	" 1883, 5 "
" 1881, 6 "	

## APPENDIX (B).

## THE VETERAN ASSOCIATION OF THE S. C. G.

(Organized Feb. 11, 1884.)

## CONSTITUTION.

## ARTICLE I. NAME AND MEMBERSHIP.

- Section 1.* This Association shall be called "The Honorable Association of Veterans of the Scranton City Guard." The organization shall date from August 14, 1882, and all who were veterans of the S. C. G. at that date shall be enrolled as charter members. All others shall be subject to election.
- Section 2.* The prime object of this Association shall be the maintenance of public order in accordance with the authority of law; the perpetuation and discipline of the active military organization known as the Scranton City Guard, organized under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania, August 14, 1877; the preservation of the history and associations of active service; and the mutual, intellectual and social benefit of the members.
- Section 3.* The Association shall be composed entirely of veterans, except in the case of the Chaplain; and no one shall be eligible to an election as a member who has not served the full term of five years, either in one of the four companies of the S. C. G. or as an officer of the Field or Staff of the Regiment with which the Guard is associated in the State service, while a resident of Scranton; or who, having begun his service in the S. C. G., has, by reason of promotion or transfer, completed the five years' term of active service in the National Guard of Pennsylvania.
- Section 4.* Every candidate shall be presented to the Board of Censors, who shall inquire into his record, examine his papers, and with their judgment of the same; as good, passable or bad; shall present his name at the next subsequent meeting for election, provided the name of the candidate shall stand upon the public bulletin at the Armory for at least one month previous to the election. And ten negative votes shall defeat any candidate. After one motion to reconsider the vote by which a candidate has been rejected has been acted upon, he shall not again be voted on within one year.
- Section 5.* Each member shall, at his initiation, sign this Constitution, and shall pay an initiation fee of two dollars, and shall pay annually thereafter two dollars, with such assessments as, from time to time, may be made by vote of the Association.
- Section 6.* Each candidate, before signing the Constitution, shall, in the presence of the Association, take the following pledge, administered by the presiding officer: "I promise, upon the honor of a gentleman and a soldier, to fulfill all the duties of a veteran of the S. C. G., and to submit to the order and discipline of the Veteran Association, in accordance with its adopted Constitution."

## ARTICLE II. ORGANIZATION.

- Section 1.* The Association shall be organized, as far as possible, as a military command; and shall possess only such civil officers as may be found necessary for the protection of its property and transaction of its civil affairs.
- Section 2.* The officers of the Veteran Corps shall be a Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, Adjutant, Quartermaster, Chaplain, Commissary, Surgeon, Assistant Surgeon, an Armorer, four Captains, four Lieutenants, a Keeper of Archives, and five Censors, who shall be chosen and rank as follows:

1. The Colonel shall be elected by a vote of the Association annually, and shall be eligible for not more than four years in succession. He shall be ex-officio the President of the Association.
2. The Lieutenant-Colonel shall be elected for a term of three years, and shall be eligible to re-election twice in succession. He is ex-officio First Vice-President of the Association.
3. The Major shall be eligible to election twice in succession. He is ex-officio Second Vice-President.
4. The Adjutant shall be elected for one year, upon the nomination of the Colonel, and shall be eligible for not more than four successive terms. He shall be ex-officio Secretary of the Association, and his rank shall be First Lieutenant.
5. The Quartermaster, with rank of First Lieutenant, shall be chosen for a term of two years, and shall be eligible for re-election for three terms in succession. He shall be ex-officio Treasurer of the Association.
6. The Armorer, with rank of Second Lieutenant, shall be elected for three years, and shall be eligible to hold the office for two terms in succession.
7. The Chaplain, with rank as Captain, shall be elected for a term of not more than four years. He shall always be a minister in regular standing in some evangelical church, and may be eligible without having served in the National Guard of Pennsylvania.
8. The Surgeon, with rank of Major, and Assistant Surgeon, with rank of First Lieutenant, shall be elected for a term of four years. The Assistant Surgeon shall be recognized as the candidate for promotion.
9. The Commissary, with rank as Captain, shall be elected for a term of three years, and shall be eligible for re-election at the pleasure of the Association.
10. The Keeper of Archives, with rank as Captain, who shall hold no other office, shall be elected for a term of not less than five years.
11. The four Captains rank as First, Second, Third and Fourth, and shall be elected as follows: The First Captain for one year, the Second for two years, the Third for three years and the Fourth for four years. The Second, Third and Fourth Captains shall be advanced annually by regular promotion, and after the first election the annual election of Captains shall be of the Fourth Captain for four years.
12. The four Lieutenants shall be subject to the same rules as those which govern the choice and promotion of the four Captains.
13. The five Censors shall constitute the Board of Censors, who shall be the trustees of the Association. This Board shall be constituted of the First, Second, Third and Fourth Censors, with the Major, who shall be ex-officio Chairman of the same. At the first election these Censors shall be chosen, the First for one year, the Second for two, the Third for three and the Fourth for four years. And these shall have annual promotions by the same rules which control Captains and Lieutenants. At all subsequent elections the Fourth Censor shall alone be chosen for the term of four years. To this Board shall be committed the charge of the general interests of the civil affairs of the Association, and of the moral standing of the members. They shall be required to report annually upon the whole condition of the Guard, both veteran and active. They shall report the condition of all property belonging to the Association, with an annual schedule of the same. They shall have no power to criticize or interfere with any military officer in his command or while in the performance of his duty. This Board shall order and constitute all courts-martial under the following limitations, to wit: 1st, When required to do so by the officer commanding. 2d, When requested to do so by any two officers of the Association. 3d, When requested to do so by five members in writing, with a statement of the cause. All courts-martial to be constituted by the Board of Censors shall be composed of three members, of equal or superior rank to the accused, with power to fine, censure or expel, and are to be conducted according to the practice of the United States Army.

#### ARTICLE III. ARMS AND UNIFORM.

- Section 1.* The Association may adopt a uniform, but shall not compel its use, further than to forbid any member not in uniform from appearing on drill or parade without the consent of the commanding officer.
- Section 2.* All arms worn by officers of the Association when on duty or parade, and all insignia of office, shall be the property of the Association, to be returned to the Armorer in good condition when their terms of office expire.

## ARTICLE IV. MEETINGS, DRILLS AND PARADES, ETC.

*Section 1.* A regular meeting of the Association may be held once each quarter, and under call of the officer commanding.

*Section 2.* There may be at least four drills each year, one each quarter, at such times as the officer commanding shall appoint.

*Section 3.* The Veteran Association shall publicly parade at least once each year, on or about the 14th day of August, when it shall be ordered out by the Colonel. All other parades and encampments are to be determined by a vote of the Association. And in all public parades each veteran shall be entitled to wear the insignia of the highest rank attained by him, either in veteran or active service.

*Section 4.* In all business meetings the order of business shall be according to a schedule which shall be adopted as a by-law, and according to such by-laws as may, from time to time, be adopted.

*Section 5.* Thirteen members shall constitute a quorum to transact all business except the election of officers and members of the Association, the ordering of parades and encampments and the amendment of the Constitution. For these items of business one-third of the enrolled members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum.

*Section 6.* Amendments may be made to this Constitution only by a two-thirds vote, the Association having been notified of the amendment upon the public bulletin at least one month previous to action.

Under this Constitution the Veteran Association was organized on the 11th of February, 1884, with a charter membership of seventy-six men and the following officers: Colonel, H. M. Boies; Lieutenant-Colonel, J. A. Linen; Major, A. W. Dickson; Adjutant, Lieut. E. F. Chamberlin; Chaplain, Rev. S. C. Logan, D.D.; Quartermaster, Lieut. M. I. Corbett; Surgeon, H. V. Logan, M.D.; Commissary, A. P. Bedford; Keeper of Archives, C. R. Smith; First Captain, Samuel Hines; Second Captain, E. J. Smith; Third Captain, W. J. Watts; Fourth Captain, E. J. Dinmick; First Lieutenant, W. C. Bushnell; Second Lieutenant, E. S. Jackson; Third Lieutenant, Wm. Connell; Fourth Lieutenant, A. C. Logan; First Censor, J. H. Torrey; Second Censor, E. H. Ripple; Third Censor, H. A. Knapp; Fourth Censor, A. J. Norrman.





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